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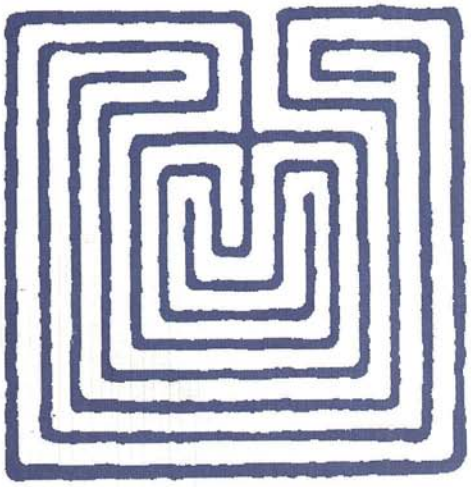

Forty Years On

Stephen R. Graubard

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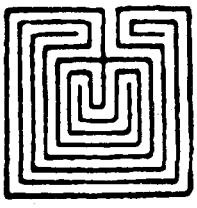

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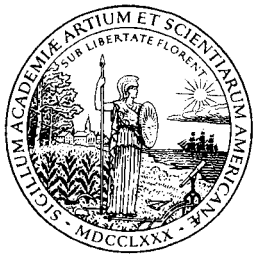

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Stephen R. Graubard

Dædalus: Forty Years On

DÆDALUS, THE JOURNAL of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, unlike many institutions, is able to boast two birth dates. The one conventionally used, that of 1958, represents the year in which the Journal officially became a quarterly. When the Journal's tenth and twentieth anniversaries were celebrated, it was entirely appropriate that 1968 and 1978 should be chosen. Yet in this instance, celebrating what we choose to call "*Dædalus:* Forty Years On," we do so in 1999. *Dædalus,* originally—and still—the *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, received its new name in 1955. The Editor of that day, Walter Muir Whitehill, expressed the hope that the Journal, in its new incarnation, might be published at least twice a year. This was not to be; between May of 1955 and October of 1957, four issues of the Journal appeared. Modest in size, though not in the quality of its typeface, illustrations, and photographs, the new publication, neither so specialized as to appear to be the property of a single profession nor so general as to attempt to appeal to a mass audience, was intended to reach readers who had never known the Academy or its *Proceedings*.

Those who created *Dædalus* took seriously the injunction of the original charter of the Academy, which declared its "end and design" to be "to cultivate every art and science which may tend to advance the interest, honor, dignity, and happiness of a free, independent, and virtuous people." These eighteenth-century words, at least in 1955, seemed neither boastful nor vain-

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glorious; they reflected an optimism as palpable as that which had existed at the time of the birth of the American republic. The name, *Dædalus,* first suggested by Harlow Shapley, the astronomer who served as President of the Academy through much of World War II, from 1939 to 1944, had both scientific and artistic connotations. As the poet David McCord explained, "Dædalus enjoyed the composite reputation of being a scientist, a craftsman, a poser as well as a solver of riddles. . . ." He represented Dædalus as "an artificer of Athens" who could also lay claim to "the Spartan awareness of reality." Believing that "it sometimes requires a poet to defend a scientist," McCord expressed his regard for those who "play with words," without which, he said, there would be neither an American Academy of Arts and Sciences nor a journal called *Dædalus.*

It was an auspicious beginning, though a critical reader might ask who among its thousand or so readers would have been able to make his way through the very first essay, entitled "Catalogue of H (II) Regions in the Milky Way For Longitudes 250–355." The photographs were admirable, as was the essay by James Franck, the Rumford Prize winner of 1955—the oldest of the Academy's prizes, going back to an eighteenth-century gift of Count Rumford—which addressed "Physical Problems of Photosynthesis." For those who were not natural scientists, who might have found these pages forbidding, a different tone was set by the report of a meeting of the American Historical Association entitled "Publishing the Papers of Great Men," which included essays on the papers of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin, the Adams family, and Horace Walpole. A lecture delivered at the Fogg Art Museum, "Art as the Function of an Audience," was calculated to appeal to yet another group of readers.

Finally, there were the Records of Meetings held at the Academy in 1954 and 1955, followed by two historical documents. The letter George Washington wrote in 1781, accepting membership in the newly founded Academy, carried a characteristic eighteenth-century encomium. Washington had said: "The Arts & Sciences essential to the prosperity of the State & to the ornament & happiness of human life have a primary claim to the encouragement of every lover of his Country &

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Mankind." Two letters from Dr. Albert Schweitzer, sent in December of 1954 and January of 1955, acknowledged his pleasure in being elected a Foreign Honorary Member of the Academy. He explained his failure for many months to respond to the letter from the Academy informing him of his election, and why, approaching age 80, fatigued and overworked, having taken not a single holiday in fifteen years, not even a Sunday, his correspondence was often neglected. Fearing that his nomination might have been voided by his long silence, Schweitzer begged that an exception be made "pour le vieillard écrasé par le travail que je suis, vivant dans une situation exceptionelle. . . ." Giving his mailing address as Gabon, in French Equatorial Africa, he asked the Secretary of the Academy to communicate with him by air mail; ordinary mail took six weeks or longer to reach him. A second letter, of January 28, 1955, expressed his delight at receiving the diploma, officially recognizing him as a Foreign Honorary Member of the Academy. How he wished he might come to Boston to meet other members of the Academy! That, however, was unlikely; in his words: "Ma vie devient plus difficile d'année en année. Mon travail augmente d' année en année." Resigned to his fate, he wished only to express his pleasure at being elected to the "venerable" Academy.

The first issue of *Dædalus*, like the three that followed, suggested that the Proceedings, though renamed, were still addressed primarily to the Fellows of the Academy, intended to appeal to the preponderant group in the Academy—the natural scientists—with some concern to interest also the small number of humanists and social scientists who claimed membership. The Academy, an institution with a very limited endowment, lacked funds sufficient to guarantee more than very occasional publication and did not allow for a salaried Editor. As Walter Whitehill, its first Editor, explained, "Rather than seek support to build up a new bureaucracy for an untried idea, it seems preferable to test the plan experimentally within the limits of available time and money and let the future take care of itself." The Academy, having sold its Boston House—heavy traffic and the absence of adequate garage facilities in the vicinity making access to it increasingly difficult—had moved to temporary

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quarters in April of 1955. Harlow Shapley, bidding farewell to a meeting hall that had served the Academy for more than half a century, spoke of the Academy's commitment to publish *Dædalus* as a quarterly, but there was no undertaking to do so with the funds realized through the sale of its House.

The second issue of *Dædalus* appeared in September of 1956; there was no third issue until the following May. That issue was memorable for John Burchard's "Imperium Sine Fine," the valedictory address he delivered in April of 1957 as President of the Academy. Howard Mumford Jones, on assuming the Academy's Presidency in 1944, had revived the eighteenth-century custom of giving an inaugural address, but Burchard preferred to speak at the end of his three-year term of office. Burchard recounted the problems he had encountered in seeking to redefine the purposes of the Academy, but his most important observations related to *Dædalus*. He explained that a committee under the chairmanship of Howard Mumford Jones decided in 1954 that the time had come to change the Academy's Proceedings, making it a quarterly sent automatically to all Fellows, which would in time interest others, "outside subscribers among intellectual leaders." *Dædalus* was expected to make its way through foundation support, outside subscriptions, advertising, or all three together. It was hoped that the Journal could become "an influential and self-supporting force in American intellectual matters." Burchard, with exemplary candor, explained:

> It was believed then, and I certainly still believe, that there is no first-class journal of this type in our country today; it was believed, and I certainly still believe, that the Fellowship of the Academy can provide a stable of writers equal to none in the country. In the time that has elapsed Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Ruzicka have developed an exceedingly handsome format for our new *Dædalus*, and the Editor has published two interesting issues. But Mr. Whitehill, who has worked hard and unselfishly on this project, and with very little assistance, would be the first to agree that *Dædalus* has not yet come to the standard of the aspirations I have stated. We have not given him enough money, we have not given him enough help. We should not expect to construct such a journal merely from the gleanings from papers which happen to have been read at Academy meetings—papers incidentally which were put on the program

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by a meetings committee and not by the editorship of the journal. We should not expect an editor to succeed without paid assistance.

The retiring President of the Academy went on to say:

> It is pretty clear to me that the Academy can make its mark on the whole nation or even the world principally by its publication. This is the only contact we have with more than half of our Fellows, who do not live near to us; and perhaps even with a half of those who do live near but are not in the habit of coming to meetings. Finally, of course, there is the vast number of other intelligent people who cannot be Fellows and with whom this can be our only serious communication. I have no doubt that we ought to gamble an adequate amount of capital funds for a three-year period so that the Editor of *Dædalus* can make the most imaginative effort possible to make our journal one of the most significant in the world of educated men; that we should then take stock and either change our course or set out to establish a sound non-deficit financing for a demonstrated success.

In words that could admit of only a single meaning, Burchard said: "If *Dædalus* is to succeed it must now be moved aggressively into a much larger effort and this is in my view one of the two principal challenges facing the Academy today, and the most urgent one." He could foresee *Dædalus* holding its own conferences on topics of cross-disciplinary interest, and indicated how the Academy might go about seeking funds for such purposes. Persuaded that *Dædalus* could manage such funds very efficiently, Burchard said:

> As things are now, such projects are frequently brought to the individual universities of this community, from which we draw so much of our membership, and the individual universities often discharge the tasks very well indeed. But there are many such joint efforts which might equally well and perhaps in some cases might even better be managed by the Academy. Here we must face the blunt fact that at the present time it would not occur to anyone with research funds to spend on any kind of action project that any American academy would be a suitable manager of the study. Yet our Academy does have this latent competence. To do this kind of work we ought to be able to mobilize resources as quickly and effectively as the individual universities can. If this is impossible

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we should not seek such opportunities. But it is a matter which can well stand serious consideration.

Burchard had effectively outlined a plan that the Academy and *Dædalus* would pursue over the next four decades. In emphasizing the importance of the Academy's quarterly publication, for its Fellows but also for a larger national and international audience, and in dwelling on the need to seek funds for interdisciplinary studies, recognizing that these might be for "action projects," the President argued for something that few before him had ever acknowledged. It was as natural for an academy—at least for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences—to engage in such efforts as it was for the universities of the country to do so. The proposition that the Academy could "manage" grants as well as any university—perhaps "even better"—might be thought bravado; hence, the disclaimer. If the Academy showed itself unable to do what the universities were doing, this would become quickly apparent. In any case, the effort ought to be made.

While Burchard did not achieve one of his purposes—to have the Academy as a corporate body speak openly and forcefully on what were incontestably the controversial issues of the day—he did, however, in his proposals for *Dædalus*, provide the incentive that allowed the newly appointed Editor, Gerald Holton, to open the Winter 1958 issue with the words, "With this issue, *Dædalus* continues its ascent to the goal which clearly beckons: to give the intellectual community a strong voice of its own." Quarterly publication was promised; the Editor's wish was for the Journal to be "a medium through which leading scholars in all fields can address one another." *Dædalus*, Holton wrote, "can serve as an instrument for focusing our attention again on that which does or should make us members of one community."

Topics that did not traditionally fall within the competence of a specific discipline, that seemed to cry out for collaborative study, had a special claim on the attention of those responsible for the Journal. To assemble, from whatever quarter, the best-informed persons, and to stimulate not only those interests that had become attenuated with time but also those that had never

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managed to establish themselves, became primary objectives. The suggestion for an issue of *Dædalus* might originate in a chance comment, a parenthetical remark; just as frequently, it came through an explicit request by an interested reader.

The *Dædalus* practice was to summon a small group to consider whether a question recommended for study had merit, to reflect on how it might be handled, and to recommend those who might be engaged in its investigation. If the group concluded that a study would be useful, a larger planning committee would be formed to consider how best to proceed. Such committees met regularly and provided the guidance on which the Editors increasingly relied. Planning committees developed the general outlines for particular issues and gave invaluable assistance in recommending the authors to be approached. Invitations to write would be issued on their advice, and six months (or sometimes a year) later, a major conference would be held, with members of the planning committee and authors meeting together with a small group of interested persons to study draft papers that had been prepared and circulated. These meetings, always closed, permitted a candid discussion of all the issues raised by the papers. Authors were encouraged to revise their drafts on the basis of what was said in these sessions. Only then would the revised papers be published in *Dædalus*. The independence of the Journal, its freedom from any kind of institutional or professional restraint, proved to be an invaluable asset.

Holton's first issue, "Science and the Modern World View," which grew out of an Academy conference supported by the National Science Foundation, was intended to honor P. W. Bridgman and Philipp Frank on their retirement from active teaching at Harvard; it brought together natural scientists, social scientists and humanists to consider the question of "the influence of science on culture." Robert Oppenheimer chose to see it as requiring a consideration of three distinct but related questions. In his words:

> The first has to do with the extent to which cultured and thoughtful people know something about the content of science; we need not exclude a knowledge of its methods, because the two are inherently inseparable. The second question is whether this knowledge pro-

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> vides useful analogies between one science and another, or between one science and a part of rational life that is not normally thought of as scientific. . . . The third question goes beyond the knowledge of a culture about the sciences, and beyond the enrichment of a culture that may derive from that knowledge. This is the question whether what has been found out in science can and should have ontological bearing, that is, whether it leads to, whether it justifies, whether it should justify, the drawing of conclusions about the nature of reality.

A new *Dædalus* had been created, genuinely interdisciplinary, dependent on outside funding, committed to bringing together individuals who might not otherwise have met, prepared to speak out on issues about which they would not necessarily agree. The Spring 1958 issue, initiated by the American Project at the Center for International Studies at M.I.T., led by Walt Rostow, grew out of a conference financed in part by the Carnegie Corporation. Again, the authorship was diverse; history, psychology, anthropology, philosophy, and economics were all represented. On the last page of the issue, the New York publishers Harper and Brothers announced that it would publish the *Dædalus* issue converted into a book, edited by the historian Elting Morison, entitled "The American Style: Essays in Values and Performance." The book's table of contents promised commentaries by distinguished scholars who had not appeared in the *Dædalus* issue. Thus, in its first year of publication as a quarterly, *Dædalus* initiated a project that was to become crucial to its success. Issues would frequently be republished as books, carrying materials that had not appeared in the original *Dædalus*. The reading public for a book, different from that of a journal, guaranteed an additional audience for the materials published by *Dædalus*. Since authors do not always meet established deadlines, and because a quarterly publication cannot be a "moveable feast," this guaranteed that those who had not submitted their manuscripts on time but had in fact participated in the project might be included, along with others who had no previous association with the study. In time, numerous publishers, both commercial and university-affiliated, saw the advantage of publishing such *Dædalus* books, doing so in many instances in both hardcover and paperback editions.

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THE 1960s

The Winter 1960 issue, bearing the title "The Visual Arts Today," billed as a "Special Issue," used illustrations, charts, and photographs extensively, in a way that no previous issue of the Journal had been able to do. In this instance, Gyorgy Kepes of M.I.T. provided the major intellectual stimulus for the issue, having already provided what became the *Dædalus* logo, the maze. Using a Jean Arp painting for the cover illustration and collecting texts from major artists of the twentieth century, Kepes created a distinctive volume that allowed him to say: "There can be little doubt that this is an age of extraordinary vitality and promise. It calls upon artists for more than strong protest: its enormous potential for undreamed-of harmonies and rhythms demands new levels of sensibility, a new capacity for unification, a new creativity."

Kepes, a distinguished painter, was providing new definitions of the role that art and the artist might have in a university like M.I.T., arguing, in effect, that the aesthetic needed to be joined to the scientific and the technical. As Guest Editor, he had been given responsibility for the issue; it bore his intellectual signature. That experiment, which allowed the Editor of *Dædalus* to collaborate with one or more authors in conceiving and realizing an issue, provided a model that would be used many times.

In the summer of 1960, Richard Pipes, who served on the *Dædalus* Board of Editors, agreed to be the Guest Editor of an issue on "The Russian Intelligentsia." While the United States at that moment was much more preoccupied with the coming presidential elections, with whether a Roman Catholic would finally secure election to the highest office in what was still presumed to be a Protestant nation, whether there was indeed a missile gap and what threat this purported growing military Soviet capability posed to the nation, the *Dædalus* issue concerned itself with questions of a very different kind, not at all likely to figure in the mass media.

Because scholarship on both Russia and the Soviet Union had grown appreciably in the preceding decades and had become an international research enterprise, actively pursued in Western Europe, particularly in the United Kingdom, but also in the

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United States, this issue may be seen as the first of what would soon become even more ambitious transatlantic collaborative efforts by *Dædalus*. In this new generation of scholars, several born in Russia or Poland who had settled in the United States or the United Kingdom after being forced to flee the Nazis or Communists, at least three—Richard Pipes, Martin Malia, and Leopold Haimson—owed their graduate training at Harvard to a single distinguished Russian émigré, Michael Karpovich, who had fled his country after the Revolution of 1917. Two British-born authors, Max Hayward, who had served in the British Embassy in Moscow from 1947 to 1949 and was best known for his translation of *Dr. Zhivago*, whose early death left a terrible void in the study of Russian literature, and Leonard Schapiro, whose first career in law was followed by his wartime experience in military intelligence, gave incomparable perspectives on Soviet totalitarianism. Yet the *Dædalus* issue could not be read as a Cold War document; in its essays on the intelligentsia in Spain and in China, and also in its reproduction of the letter sent to Boris Pasternak by the Editors of *Novyi Mir* condemning him for *Dr. Zhivago,* it spoke of issues that transcended the Soviet-American standoff, that related to how intellectuals in disparate societies fared in the twentieth century.

Many in the United States and Western Europe, appalled by what they saw as the threat of thermonuclear war generated by the growing arms competition between the United States and the Soviet Union, were beginning to ask how an arms race with such potential hazards might be contained or resolved. A new subject was in the making; indeed, a new discipline—arms control—was waiting to be created. The year 1960 must be taken, for *Dædalus*, at least, as its *annus mirabilis*. The Fall 1960 special issue on "Arms Control," appearing coincidentally with the election of John F. Kennedy to the presidency of the United States, gave the Journal a prominence it had not previously known. More important, it told those responsible for *Dædalus* that public-policy issues, of even the greatest complexity, on which able men and women might differ, were subjects that would profit from close and sustained inquiry. The task of *Dædalus* was not only to publish the results of conferences and meetings initiated by others, but to itself become the

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prime mover in causing issues that had not become the subject of mass media attention to be brought to the table. In every particular, from the organizing of the planning meetings that created the rationale for the special issue on arms control, and, in time, its table of contents, to the refereeing procedures employed in the closed authors' conference that considered early drafts of the essays individually, *Dædalus* experimented with methods that would be refined in time but were never fundamentally altered. The Journal achieved its maturity early, in 1960.

Why did the arms control issue enjoy such success? The easy answer would be that it responded to a deep concern among those who read it, not least among the general public, and that it dealt with questions that had become urgent for many. There is good reason to doubt that explanation. The *Dædalus* issue on "Arms Control" did not respond to an interest that already existed. On the contrary; it helped create that interest. How? By making clear, in prose that even those most wary of technical jargon could appreciate, that the issue of arms control was not simply the old interwar question of disarmament, brought up to date through a consideration of the effects of thermonuclear weapons. These were quite new problems; the old debates of the League of Nations, even of the United Nations in its first blush of youth, were largely irrelevant to the kinds of issues raised. It was significant that Jerome Wiesner, the chairman of the committee appointed by Gerald Holton, the Editor, to launch the project, was director of the Research Laboratory of Electronics at M.I.T., and that many of those associated with him in planning it were professors either at M.I.T. or at Harvard. A Committee that included Robert Bowie, Donald Brennan, John Edsall, Bernard Feld, Stephen Graubard, Henry Kissinger, and Louis Sohn was Cambridge-centered, but their disciplines were diverse. As for the authors, while the preponderant number were natural scientists, principally from the physical sciences, a good number were social scientists, economists, and political scientists; not a few were lawyers, with some having no formal association with universities; they were journalists, politicians, and foundation officers, coming from every part of the country.

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Gerald Holton, in listing the names of those who helped with the project or attended the authors' conference where the draft essays were criticized, named no less than thirty individuals, many destined to hold high places in government, often dealing with arms-control matters. The conference, in short, was an "ingathering" of sorts; it helped create what soon came to be known as the "arms-control community." More than that, it emphasized what perhaps was most important: the individuals who wrote and consulted together did not agree about the remedies for the arms standoff that saw the Soviet Union and the United States pitted against each other; they agreed only about the urgency of the problem and the need for solutions. Unafraid to offer their individual interpretations and remedies, they knew that only intellectual debate at the highest level—with tolerance shown for those who held other opinions—could advance the study of arms control. As a consequence, the issue brought together in active discourse, not expected to lead to any kind of intellectual "marriage," a remarkably disparate group of individuals. An issue that could accommodate Harrison Brown, Saville Davis, Paul Doty, Erich Fromm, Hubert Humphrey, Herman Kahn, Henry Kissinger, Thomas Schelling, and Edward Teller—to name less than a third of the authors—could not fail to be controversial. These were not individuals prepared to trim their arguments to satisfy colleagues.

Were these the reasons, then, for the success of the issue? Only in part. The intrinsic importance of the subject—both its novelty and its complexity—helped give it a certain renown. Also, the active intervention of the Guest Editor, Donald Brennan, a mathematician and communication theorist who would not allow any stray remark to go unnoticed, guaranteed that all views would be challenged, but that all would be heard. This, then, made for the excitement and excellence of the issue. There were, however, other reasons for its initial printing being sold out in a matter of weeks. For the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, to refer to it as "the Bible of arms control," and to do so in the first months of his presidency, gave it instant renown. So, also, the decision of the Book-of-the-Month Club to make the book version, published by George Braziller, a special selection for July of 1961 guaranteed that it would be

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read by many tens of thousands of readers. The expectations of all the "fathers" of the Journal, those who had insisted that there was room for an intellectual journal that took serious issues seriously, that sought to explain them to an attentive audience of readers, were confirmed.

Dædalus could never be the same journal after its "Arms Control" issue. While the very next issue, "The Future Metropolis," grew out of collaboration with the Tamiment Institute, which had helped the Journal twice previously by making its admirable conference facilities in the Poconos available at no cost to the Academy, the contributions reflected an optimism shared by many members of the Joint Center for Urban Studies, a Harvard–M.I.T. enterprise. They wished to believe that major reforms might be impending in America's cities, which is not to suggest that many anticipated rapid or radical change. The impediments to both were too obvious to ignore even at a time of great and growing expectations.

Still, the mood of the early 1960s is admirably represented in those pages. Given the Journal's aspiration to become something more than an American publication relying on American authors with positions at Harvard or M.I.T., the importance of seeking comment on its arms control issue from individuals abroad, who did not necessarily share the opinions of their American contemporaries, was recognized. Comments were solicited in the United Kingdom and France. While Raymond Aron had published once previously in *Dædalus,* Julian Boyd Orr, Alastair Buchan, Jules Moch, and Philip Noel-Baker had never appeared in its pages. Their contributions were significant because they raised questions that had not figured in the discussions previously confined to those who saw the arms control issues from an American perspective.

While it took a certain time for *Dædalus* to become a more internationally oriented publication—almost half a decade—in the intervening years the effort to make the publication more representative of scholarship in the United States as a whole, in effect to reduce its Cambridge-centered authorship, grew apace. The Summer 1961 issue, "Evolution and Human Progress," edited by the Academy's newly-elected President, Hudson Hoagland, and its Executive Officer, Ralph Burhoe, brought

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together natural scientists and social scientists, dealing as much with human biological heritage, and the human genotype, as with human culture as perceived by psychologists and anthropologists. A *Dædalus* issue that originated in an Academy conference, supported by the Carnegie Corporation, with avowedly interdisciplinary aims, realized concretely the ambitions of the Journal's founders.

If "integration" and "identity" were terms much favored in the 1960s, so also were "excellence" and "leadership," made so by many factors, none more important perhaps than the rhetoric of a newly elected, youthful President of the United States who seemed committed to liberating the United States from certain of its nineteenth-century orthodoxies, releasing its energy and providing it with new ability to cope with a Soviet Union that seemed to have lost little of its taste for foreign adventures. The Fall 1961 *Dædalus* issue, "Excellence and Leadership in a Democracy," read from the perspective of the late 1990s, may seem to some a characteristic document of the early 1960s: too optimistic, too utopian. Yet a more careful reading of the issue will suggest that such was not its character at all. Those who wrote for it—humanists, scientists, and social scientists—were scarcely content with existing conditions. Henri Peyre berated American society for its loss of faith in reason. The frittering away of the nation's energies in secondary matters and in negative thinking worried him, as did what he saw to be the "panicky fear of Communism." Robert Morison, quoting extensively from a letter written by Warren Weaver that dwelled on how science needed to change, found many of Weaver's ideas compelling. Weaver had written: "We have been great at producing bits of information, fragments of knowledge. We now need to devote more attention to the fitting together of these bits, to the broader interrelations, and hence to broader utilization. . . . We have to humanize science, and give more general meaning and structure—and even value—to it."

The interest in American society, in the changes taking place as a consequence of new and unanticipated events, were paramount during these years, but there was no disposition to ignore the world abroad. Thus, when Erik Erikson persuaded

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the Editor of *Dædalus* to launch a study of contemporary youth, which emerged as "Youth: Change and Challenge" in the winter of 1962, the emphasis was on the United States, but there were essays also on youth in Japan, the Soviet Union, and France. The true originality of the issue, however, did not reside simply in the empirical investigations reported on by several of the authors; the theoretical essays by Erikson, who served as Guest Editor, and by Bruno Bettelheim, S. N. Eisenstadt, and Talcott Parsons, among others, made the issue important for scholars in a great variety of disciplines, giving it a renown it might not otherwise have secured. Childhood and adolescence were being perceived in quite new ways by social scientists no longer subservient to the scholarship of an earlier period.

The day when *Dædalus* was, in effect, the publisher of materials generated by others in conferences and colloquia organized by them was coming to an end. This never implied the wish to cease collaboration with other institutions; it simply reflected the fact that even when the Editors agreed to accept materials provided by others—and this was becoming increasingly rare—the material was substantially transformed. This was evident in the Spring 1962 *Dædalus* issue, "Science and Technology in Contemporary Society," which grew out of a collection of papers presented the previous year at M.I.T.'s Centennial celebrations. Like other universities commemorating major anniversaries, M.I.T. used the occasion to convene a world conference, bringing some 130 individuals to Cambridge from every part of the world. Although twenty-one communications were offered, only seven seemed suitable for publication in *Dædalus*. As the Journal had noticed many times previously, papers prepared for oral delivery were rarely suited to print publication. Also, some, inevitably, were highly technical, appropriate for a highly-specialized audience, not suited to the one that habitually read *Dædalus*. Still, the opportunity to publish such distinguished foreign authors as Raymond Aron, Eric Ashby, Aldous Huxley, and W. Arthur Lewis could not be ignored. Also, given all that M.I.T. had done to advance the fortunes of the Academy and *Dædalus*, it was reasonable that the Journal should wish to share in its celebrations in some meaningful way.

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As *Dædalus* gained in repute, almost every morning's mail brought one or several unsolicited manuscripts. Given that almost all issues were devoted to a single theme, the preponderant number could never be accommodated in the Journal. While special departments in the back of many issues allowed for publication of at least a few, the greatest number were returned to their authors. Some members of the Board of Editors, recognizing that not every issue would treat a subject of interest to all the Journal's readers, wondered whether each issue might not treat more than a single subject: two, possibly three. Others argued that this would dilute the quality of the individual issues; it was better to treat a single theme in depth—though not necessarily in four hundred or more pages—than to seek greater variety. A compromise was reached. The Journal would continue to devote the greatest number of its issues to single subjects but would occasionally publish an issue, an *omnium gatherum* of sorts, that would have no one theme. Such an issue might contain unsolicited essays but also a certain number commissioned by the Editor to deal with matters that figured too rarely in the publication. The first such issue, entitled "Current Work and Controversies," appeared in the summer of 1959; the second was published three years later, in the summer of 1962. While neither could be advertised as "light summer reading," they provided an opportunity to publish materials that could not otherwise have been accommodated.

The Fall 1962 *Dædalus* issue, "American Foreign Policy: Freedoms and Restraints," analyzed why the Democratic administration of John F. Kennedy, for all its protestations of novel international initiatives, had in fact accomplished a great deal less than its rhetoric proclaimed. Whether in respect to Latin America, where John Plank looked with both admiration and reserve on relations that the highly-advertised and much-touted Alliance for Progress was intended to improve, or Communist China, where the need to break through to a new set of relations was recognized by Herbert Feis, who refused to underestimate the intrinsic difficulties of achieving anything very substantial, it was obvious that vigor and enthusiasm were not by themselves sufficient goads for the realization of bold new foreign policies. Bernard Brodie—one of the intellectual "fa-

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thers" of the arms-control community, whose premature death robbed the nation and the world of one of its most creative minds—while accepting that "total war" was not an imminent danger, inveighed against those who saw it as no danger at all, imagining that the existence of nuclear weapons had abolished for all time the possibility of war. For Brodie, the failure to take certain dangers seriously was troubling, as much in the United States as in Europe. While Brodie did not explicitly find fault with the Kennedy administration, Raymond Aron was more critical. The first years, he wrote, had not been at all remarkable. Still, there were reasons to hope. As Aron wrote,

> [President Kennedy's advisers] are learning that technically correct answers may be politically inapplicable. In short, they are leaving the ivory towers and dealing with politics, measuring the distance between Cambridge and the White House, between the models of the game theory and the reasoning processes of statesmen. General de Gaulle never played poker at Princeton, and he probably has never opened the book of J. von Neumann and Morgenstern, but he knows the force of a "no" in a game where the rules forbid laying the cards on the table. Or, if you like, he knows the value of a refusal in a test of will which does not permit the open use of force. I am sure the day will soon come when these American leaders, their minds trained in rational disciplines, will make the inevitable concessions to others' motives, even if they appear irrational in their own eyes. On that day, the policy of the Kennedy administration will be grand.

These, the reflections of an academic, a European who had nothing to lose by being candid and even ironic, were words that American academics were also free to use—some, like Stanley Hoffmann, did—but it was more difficult for those employed by the U.S. government to be equally open. Individuals in certain positions, public and private, were not free, if they insisted on writing under their own names. While Bernard Brodie, like others, could indicate that his views did not necessarily reflect those of the Rand Corporation with which he was associated, others understood that such a disclaimer was not enough. Two of the essays in this *Dædalus* issue were written under pseudonyms. "Roger Smith" did not think it wise to identify himself when he wrote:

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> Specialization, parochialism, concern with the immediate, White House and Administration sensitivity to criticism, and fear of short-term losses add up to a distaste for being tough in pursuit of a policy. It is not merely that Americans like to be liked; it is the more serious matter of failing once again to see the strategic owing to obsession with the tactical. If the handful of responsible officials in Washington have not the time or in some cases the instinct for mature reflection, then the system automatically works in such a way as to attempt to satisfy as evenly as possible all the claimants.

"Peter Paul Stender" had other reasons for wishing to remain anonymous. A man who wished one day to return to the Soviet Union, who understood only too well why visas were refused, particularly when someone had written in such a way as to cross the regime, did not imagine that his essay "The Paradox of Soviet Power" would "play well in Moscow." He preferred for his identity not to be known. His secret was kept. Interestingly, though both authors were listed as using pseudonyms, no one wrote to the Editor to complain of a "breach of ethics" in not identifying the authors. It seemed wholly natural for this sort of thing to be done, at least occasionally, if the reasons for doing so were compelling. In two later issues, however, when the same practice was used, some registered a complaint. In each instance, it was thought that anonymity was an unacceptable practice.

As correspondence with readers grew, demands increased for greater attention to be given to humanistic themes. Because foundation support for such subjects was harder to come by, *Dædalus* frequently avoided its usual conference procedures, depending instead on an individual scholar organizing colleagues to write for the Journal. This proved to be increasingly easy to do, given the growing renown of the Journal. Still, the absence of an authors' conference meant that none of the refereeing procedures that had become common with the Journal could be used. In the Spring 1963 issue, "Perspectives on the Novel," Albert Guerard, of Stanford University, assembled a group of senior and junior faculty, principally from English departments, with a representative from psychology, and the editor of *The Sewanee Review*. Though the preponderant number of authors continued to come from universities in the East,

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scholars from the West and the Midwest were increasingly called on. Women were still uncommon among the authors—only one, Claire Rosenfield, of Rutgers, figured in the issue on the novel—but that situation too was destined to change as the decade proceeded.

Given the limited resources available to *Dædalus*, there was no possibility of converting the Journal from a quarterly into a bi-monthly, but that suggestion was mooted and discussed. So, also, was the idea of including advertising in each issue. The income generated by such a change would of course be welcome, but the objections raised to it were strenuous: *Dædalus* was being increasingly used in university courses; back issues were being regularly sold, in many instances years after their original publication. Many on the Board of Editors believed that nothing so much "aged" a journal as the advertisements that publicized the books of yesterday. It was taken for granted that book advertising would be the staple of any advertising in *Dædalus*, and many questioned the wisdom of pursuing such a campaign. The decision was made: there would be no advertising.

Yet one period in the life of *Dædalus* was coming to an end. Having served as Managing Editor of *Dædalus* since the winter of 1960, I took over as Editor in the summer of 1961, and succeeded Gerald Holton as Editor of the Academy in the spring of 1963, formally charged with responsibility for all Academy publications. Holton, more than anyone, had seen the potential of an Academy quarterly. Remaining as a member of the Board of Editors, a frequent author, and the Guest Editor of several individual issues, he gave generously of his time and counsel to those who now assumed full responsibility for the Journal. After 1963, those duties fell principally on the Editor and the Managing Editor, Geno Ballotti, who had assumed that post in the autumn of 1962. Ballotti brought substantial administrative and publishing experience, acquired in his many years of service with the Johns Hopkins University Press. Graubard and Ballotti, a team that continued to serve together until the summer of 1978—a condition not at all common in journal publication—were helped by a group of Academy Fellows who gave them the kinds of support necessary to an enterprise constantly seeking to move in new directions.

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To look at the Fall 1963 *Dædalus* issue, "The Professions," and to compare it to that of Winter 1964, "A New Europe?" is to have a sense of some of the ways in which the Journal was changing. The Fall issue was essentially still dominated by professors of several generations, all pursuing their careers in American universities. Their institutional connections were now more various, and though they included Columbia, Delaware, Yale, Brandeis, and Harvard, the universities of the far West were still unrepresented. While a number of Midwestern institutions had figured in previous *Dædalus* issues, they were absent from this one. Why, then, this continued reliance on institutions in the Bos/Wash corridor? The explanation was a simple one. The grants available to *Dædalus* were exceedingly modest; they virtually precluded long-distance air travel. The Journal's outreach, in effect, was limited by its finances. If that situation were to change, it could happen only when major American foundations began to support the Journal and indeed to appropriate funds that allowed *Dædalus* to hold more elaborate planning conferences, to invite prospective authors from every part of the world, without regard to the costs incurred by air travel and the like, and to hold authors' meetings in whatever place seemed most convenient.

The Winter 1964 *Dædalus* issue, "A New Europe?" a volume of some 576 pages, started modestly enough in the Journal's Cambridge editorial offices early in 1961. Informal conversations, essentially among a group of friends sharing a common interest in Europe, led to the submission of a formal application to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant that would allow the group to expand to involve Europeans, many of a generation younger than those who most frequently wrote for *Dædalus*. The Carnegie Corporation, in making the grant—a much more substantial one than the Journal had been in the habit of receiving—allowed for the establishment of a Planning Committee of American scholars, foundation officers, and government officials to determine what a *Dædalus* issue on contemporary Europe might deal with. It was agreed that emphasis should be given to political, social, educational, and intellectual changes occurring principally in Western Europe, in the six original signatories of the Treaty of Rome, and in the United Kingdom.

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Members of the Committee, travelling in Europe that summer, consulted widely to determine whether their proposed table of contents seemed reasonable and to determine who ought to be invited to write. In the early autumn of 1962, twenty-two invitations were issued to prospective authors, and a subcommittee of the Planning Committee traveled to Paris in January of 1963 to consult with Europeans to make final plans for the larger authors' conference, scheduled for June at the Villa Serbelloni in Bellagio, Italy. The Villa, only recently converted from a private residence into a conference center, the property of the Rockefeller Foundation, was intended to be used as the site for major international meetings. *Dædalus* became an early beneficiary of the incomparable facilities and hospitality afforded by the Rockefeller Foundation, which covered all conference expenses incurred from the moment its guests entered the Villa's magnificent grounds. *Dædalus* may for a time have had the distinction of being its principal institutional user. By its location, by the privacy guaranteed to the closed meetings the Foundation supported, and also by its remoteness from the busy world outside, Bellagio proved to be an ideal setting for the kinds of international authors' meetings that *Dædalus* knew to be essential to its publication program.

When the authors invited to write for the special issue on "A New Europe?" are compared to those who wrote just a few years previously for the special issue on "Arms Control," the distance traveled by the Journal becomes apparent. By the winter of 1964, *Dædalus* was reaching out to become a truly international journal, seeking deliberately to represent the best thinking of several generations of scholars and others both in the United States and Western Europe. The preponderant number of those who wrote for the issue, adolescents or young adults during World War II, were joined by a much smaller group who had known the interwar years as adults, who enjoyed substantial reputations in their own countries. The United States was represented among the authors, but only as a minority; the greater number came from France, the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, and Italy. Although individuals attached to universities figured prominently, they were not as conspicuous as they had been in the past. *Dædalus* had come of

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age in a very special sense. It had abandoned its safe Cambridge haven to seek authors in Paris, London, Rome, Bonn, Milan, Tübingen, Lille, Oxford, and Naples. The net was being spread ever more widely with respect to academic disciplines, but also with respect to those who worked outside universities, in government, international organizations, and in various private capacities.

The Journal was becoming substantially different from what it had been when it began life as a quarterly publication. This was as true when it treated purely domestic issues as when it ventured into foreign fields. With the publication of the Spring 1964 issue, "The Woman in America," women for the first time figured more prominently among the *Dædalus* authors than men. Given the subject, this might seem entirely natural. Still, considering the date of the issue's publication and how much in advance of the more general interest in women's studies and feminism it was, tribute must be paid to those women who planned the issue, doing so together with a small number of men. The essay by Alice Rossi, "Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal," became one of the most celebrated of the decade, with requests being constantly made for its republication. Jill Conway's essay on Jane Addams, like Joan Erikson's on Eleanor Roosevelt, Esther Peterson's on "Working Women," and Lotte Bailyn's "Notes on the Role of Choice in the Psychology of Professional Women," suggested how much the study of American women was assuming new dimensions. Erik Erikson's "Inner and Outer Space: Reflections on Womanhood," like David Riesman's "Two Generations," a study of his mother's generation and that of his daughter, helped guarantee the success of the issue. Young, relatively unknown women were given an opportunity to write for a Journal that circulated widely. At least two of them were later to express in print their gratitude to *Dædalus* for helping to launch their careers as scholars. The Journal's concern to recruit young authors became a principal objective. Support for the issue came from the Edgar Stern Family Fund, and it was Helen Hill Miller who provided both advice and encouragement.

Many issues of *Dædalus* are revealing of the time in which they were published, none perhaps more so than the Fall 1964

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issue, "The Contemporary University: U.S.A." It would be correct to say that this was almost the last moment when one could still believe that the American universities were essentially sound, that no major troubles were impending. Indeed, there is something almost alarming in the quiescence, the sense of security and stability that permeates the greatest number of the essays in this issue, so different from what was written and said only a few years later.

The optimism of Julius Stratton, the President of M.I.T., and William De Vane, the long-time Dean of Yale College, redolent of so much else in the issue, was, however, not shared by Douglas Bush, who wrote in a quite different vein about "The Humanities," which he defended against its critics, including certain scientists. Bush, Professor of English at Harvard and one of the world's authorities on John Milton, accepted that instruction in the social sciences, the natural sciences, and the humanities were all called for, but for him the humanities were "the most basic of the three great bodies of knowledge and thought." Refusing to accept the common view that the three were "moving along convergent roads toward eventual unification," he saw them "as essentially different, in origin, methods, and aims, and no spacious and specious generalities can gloss over the differences." Showing his characteristic combativeness but also a certain pessimism, Bush wrote: "We may indeed reach a point in our new Dark Age—at moments one may wonder if we have not reached it already—where the literary creations of saner and nobler ages can no longer be assimilated or even dimly apprehended, where man has fulfilled his destiny as a mindless, heartless, will-less node. Meanwhile, no scientific problem is anywhere near so urgent as the preservation of individual man and his humane faculties and heritage." Bush was doing more than defending his intellectual turf; he was sounding a tocsin, doing so many years before others joined him in expressing concern with what appeared to be happening to American higher education.

It is precisely because the *Dædalus* issue on the contemporary American university, appearing when it did, marked the end of an era—though this was only faintly discerned at the time—that the subjects raised then figured so prominently in

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the next decades. *Dædalus,* in many ways the creation of the post–World War II American research university, could never have taken the form it did in any earlier period. What happened to the university, and to American higher education more generally, could not fail to concern those responsible for the Journal. In these circumstances, the wider dissemination of the essays published in *Dædalus* mattered enormously to those who realized that they merited a shelf life longer than any made possible by journal publication. While the *Dædalus* book publication program prospered after its inaugural in 1958, with many commercial and university presses vying for the right to republish individual issues, the ambition to reach an even wider audience became even more imperative. By 1964, a remarkable group of publishers, including Beacon Press, Harper and Brothers, The Free Press, Basic Books, George Braziller, Wesleyan University Press, D. Van Nostrand, Columbia University Press, and R. R. Bowker had all published book versions of *Dædalus* issues. Many sold exceedingly well, and there was reason to continue the practice of inviting various publishers to consider individual issues. Still, the prospect of doing all this more efficiently, creating an even greater market, beckoned. Houghton Mifflin Company, across the Charles River from the *Dædalus* editorial offices in Cambridge, wished to create a *Dædalus Library*, publishing all issues of the Journal as hardcover books. The first volume, appearing in 1964, an expanded version of "A New Europe?" told the Editors they had made the right decision. The format was attractive; additional essays were commissioned expressly for the book, and a photographic "essay" gave a visual concreteness to many of the arguments made by individual authors. Houghton Mifflin, a large and prosperous firm committed to the publication of quality books, was prepared to price the *Dædalus Library* titles at a level that would maximize sales, encouraging professors to adopt them as course readings. The arrangement seemed ideal, and continued for almost the rest of the decade.

The issue that Douglas Bush had raised—the relations between the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences—had figured for some years as one that merited a special issue of *Dædalus.* Indeed, an application to the National Sci-

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ence Foundation for the funding of such an inquiry was made in 1962 and was granted almost immediately. This was the first time that a federal agency contributed to the support of a *Dædalus* issue; many saw it as setting a precedent that needed to be repeated. Gerald Holton, assuming the task of Guest Editor, created an extraordinary group to help plan the issue "Science and Culture." The two foreign authors, Edmund Leach, the British anthropologist, and Eric Weil, the French philosopher, wrote convincingly of the pessimism of their time but also of the need to refute it. The "pessimistic image of the lonely worker in the lonely crowd" had no great appeal for Leach, who saw a different reality, of "individual human beings living together in organized groups." Weil made a similar point, though with a different emphasis, when he wrote: ". . .we must think our world and our condition as human beings. We must relegate science and mastery to their proper place, which will always be an important place, or, to put it somewhat paradoxically, we must learn to consider the problem of science instead of thinking only in the framework of science, and we must consider the problem of power, and not only think in the categories of power."

"Utopia," the Spring 1965 issue of *Dædalus*, supported by a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation, brought together individuals whose professional interests spanned many intellectual worlds, from political science to history, from literature to botany and zoology. While no attempt was made to synthesize essays so different in their tone and methods, the boundaries of utopian thought were given new dimensions and meaning. As Bertrand de Jouvenel expressed it in his essay "Utopia for Practical Purposes": "You cannot make men contented through entertainments but only through achievements. It is therefore 'the problem of work' which is essential. You cannot have a Good Society if you do not offer to each man a man-sized job, which he can take joy and pride in." Looking at the "developing world" and reflecting on what the advanced world had to offer those who were less advantaged, he questioned the value of much that had been given. His verdict was melancholy: "As a machinery for the production of happiness our arrangements have a low yield." If so, what then could the

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West offer? Judith Shklar, in her essay "The Political Theory of Utopia: From Melancholy to Nostalgia," considered whether there was any meaning at all in the common question, "why are there no utopias today?" Remarking on what she termed the "ill-tempered and ill-informed hostility of many humanists toward the natural sciences" and also on the "many ill-considered efforts to 'imitate' science by the metaphorical or analogical use of words drawn from biology or physics," she disdained what she interpreted to be the signs of intellectual exhaustion. In her mind, it was the "sense of frustration at our inability to think as creatively as the ancients apparently did" that led to the lingering respect for the virtues of classical Greece and Rome, for what she termed "*real* community life." These two *Dædalus* issues, "Science and Culture" and "Utopia," related to a larger theme: a growing uneasiness about the character of contemporary life and thought, not least in the prosperous West.

The early 1960s was a time when the theme of "creativity" figured largely in the United States. The Summer 1965 issue, "Creativity and Learning," leaned heavily on a group of essays presented originally at a Conference on Education for Creativity in the Sciences held at New York University. As with so many issues of *Dædalus*, one or two essays gained particular renown. In this instance, it was "The Informed Vision: An Essay on Science Education" by David Hawkins that seemed to attract the most attention, along with "Unsolved Problems of Science Education" by Lawrence Kubie. Each, in its own way, went beyond the common wisdom about how children might be motivated to learn and understand science. For Hawkins, the problem was not only to find more resourceful teachers, though these were obviously desirable, but also to recognize that long periods of "individualized and diversified work of a more exploratory and self-directed kind" was the necessary apprenticeship for any serious commitment to teach science to children. He believed that there was much to be learned from watching the patient and able teacher, but that all such observation would come to nothing if teachers were not helped "with plants and animals and laboratory equipment—and ideas!" Kubie, starting from a very different point, argued that learning, think-

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ing, and creating are essentially "preconscious rather than conscious processes," and insisted that we knew all too little about any of these. Yet we argue as if discovery can be rapid, and this is our delusion. In Kubie's words, "To pretend that a quick and inexpensive study should be made by one or two behavioral scientists would be dishonest and deceptive. An understanding of the reasons for the failure of education in all fields and over the centuries cannot be bought at bargain rates." For Kubie, the psychiatrist, as for Hawkins, the philosopher, the task was to learn more about how individuals learn, and to use that knowledge to do something more than continue in the old tradition, that of "drill and grill."

In the fall of 1965, *Dædalus* published the first of two issues on "The Negro American." Both issues, of almost 450 pages, contained contributions from scholars, black and white, renowned for their research in the field of race relations. Insofar as there was any precedent for such a massive *Dædalus* study of a major question affecting American public policy, it was the issue published half a decade earlier on "Arms Control." Indeed, the parallel was so striking that I emphasized it in my Preface: "This is the first of two issues that *Dædalus* will be publishing on the Negro American. In May 1965, at a closed conference at the House of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, where drafts of these papers were discussed, I described the meeting as the most important one we had convened during the past five years. Not since 1960, when we launched our studies in the field of arms control, had a comparable effort been made by the American Academy. Rarely had we undertaken a critical examination of a matter of such pressing concern to the nation."

For the first time in the history of *Dædalus*, a sitting President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, wrote the Foreword to the issue. President Johnson's two-page Foreword, as impressive for its eloquence as for its forthright defense of the need to effect change in the relations between the races, opened with a resounding statement: "Nothing is of greater significance to the welfare and vitality of this nation than the movement to secure equal rights for Negro Americans." He went on to say: "Much has been done—within government and without—to secure

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equal rights. Much remains to be done if a people enslaved by centuries of bigotry and want are to realize the opportunities of American life." Never underestimating the difficulties of the task, realizing that it could not be accomplished by simple means, the President commented on the "interlocking effects of deprivation" in respect to education, housing, and employment. While he spoke of citizenship and personality, his most effective words dealt with more concrete matters. What the President said in 1965 remains true in 1999, though few are inclined to argue as Lyndon Johnson did, the race issue having quietly declined in the standard rhetoric of those who seek to lead the nation. The President wrote: "It will not be enough to provide better schools for Negro children, to inspire them to excel in their studies, if there are no decent jobs awaiting them after graduation. It will not be enough to open up job opportunities, if the Negro must remain trapped in a jungle of tenements and shanties. If we are to have peace at home, if we are to speak with one honest voice in the world—indeed, if our country is to live with its conscience—we must affect every dimension of the Negro's life for the better."

If the object was to "include" black men and women in American society, the President knew that the efforts pursued to date, "sometimes haltingly and in great trepidation, sometimes boldly and with a high heart," needed to be given even greater emphasis. He saw the *Dædalus* issue as providing "invaluable source materials for the White House Conference [To Fulfill these Rights] to be convened in November," and expressed his gratitude to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences for the contribution it had made. Neither of the issues on "The Negro American"—and it is significant to note that the term *Negro* was still in common use as late as 1965—would have been undertaken without the generous assistance of the Carnegie Corporation, which, in my words, "provided funds at a time when they were most needed—at the beginning, before we knew the form that the project would take." The Carnegie Corporation, which had been wholly responsible for funding the Gunnar Myrdal study that led to the publication of "An American Dilemma" in 1944—incontestably the most important study of American race relations ever published—showed

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a continuing commitment to investigating the country's most intractable problem, treating it as seriously two decades after the end of World War II as it had done in the late 1930s and early 1940s.

If race relations, like arms control, became a major *Dædalus* preoccupation, continuing long after the initial publication in the Academy's Journal, it was because the Academy itself accepted its crucial importance. This was owing largely to a remarkable group of Fellows who, in association with an active Academy President, Talcott Parsons, recognized the crucial importance of the subject. That a good number of these individuals, established scholars in the field of race relations, joined with others, actively involved in seeking greater integration, suggested how academics might join with policymakers to recommend and effect major institutional change. That the company included a number who had not previously written on the subject—including the economist James Tobin—suggested how much those who planned the issue wished it to be something other than a compendium of known and established race-relations experts. These individuals were prepared to reserve time to write, advise, and argue about a subject that admitted of no easy answers; it tells much about the intellectual and political climate of the mid 1960s. This was a time when no one was excluded because of skin color or ideological preference. The issues were too important to allow such bias to intrude. The results were two *Dædalus* issues of exceptional quality, eventually brought together in the Houghton Mifflin *Dædalus Library* in a hardcover edition edited by Kenneth Clark and Talcott Parsons. That book, soon republished by Beacon Press in a paperback edition—a process that became standard for a time—made an incomparable collection of essays and conference transcripts available to an audience more diverse than any that could be reached by the Journal itself.

While many expected the issue of race to remain paramount for the nation—the government, certainly, but also academic institutions, foundations, and others—this did not prove to be the case. The growing urban violence did not translate into major new recommendations for policy changes. Race indeed came to occupy a very secondary place to war: the fighting in

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Vietnam. It is significant, certainly, that *Dædalus* never abandoned its concern with racial inequality, that it never thought to treat the Vietnam War in the way common to the mass media.

The Spring 1966 *Dædalus* issue, "Conditions of World Order," showed the Journal's concern to be something more than an American publication concentrating on international problems as seen only from an American perspective. At a time when many in the United States were wholly preoccupied with Vietnam, imagining that issue to be all-significant, it was useful to bring together a company from Europe, Asia, Africa, and both Americas to discuss together what Raymond Aron, the conference chairman, described in tentative terms as the possible beginning of an "Age of Universal History." In issuing invitations to the conference, held at the Rockefeller Foundation's Villa Serbelloni, I spoke of the old cultural diversities that persisted, which had not lost their salience, and of the new sources of conflict that had appeared. In my view, the challenge was "to understand, first, how and whether such diversities imperil international stability, and, secondly, how it is possible to organize so that there can be peaceful coexistence between societies which remain fundamentally different." In addition to those who attended from the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, and the Netherlands, representatives came from Brazil, Sierra Leone, Czechoslovakia, New Zealand, Japan, India, and Thailand.

It is testimony to the quality of the discussion of that meeting, so ably chaired by Raymond Aron, that *Dædalus* was able, thirty years later, to reprint the Report of the Conference, prepared by Stanley Hoffmann, reprinting also Aron's essay "The Anarchical Order of Power." That such material still resonated decades later suggests why that conference never considered the Vietnam War an all-important event destined to transform the world. Again, the advantage of assembling a group that included scholars from various disciplines, principally from the social sciences but with more than a smattering of individuals from the natural sciences and the humanities, was demonstrated. The fact that some came from outside the university world entirely was not unimportant. That it was

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genuinely interdisciplinary and included individuals of several generations, prepared to traverse a vast intellectual terrain, was what made the occasion distinctive. Its major contribution may have been to suggest that "world order" would not be created by dwelling only on those foreign policy issues that seemed consequential to the great powers.

In the Summer 1966 *Dædalus* issue, "Tradition and Change," there was a return to the tradition of making the summer issue an *omnium gatherum*, a collection of essays on quite disparate subjects. This issue had particular interest because it suggested how much material was being generated by *Dædalus* that could not be used in any of the quarterly issues. For example, many of the hardcover books published in the Houghton Mifflin Library contained materials that had not originally appeared in *Dædalus* that merited republication in the Journal. Mention was made in the Editor's Preface of the hope of publishing an issue on Latin America in the not-too-distant future. That objective, regrettably, was not achieved. Though an exceedingly productive planning meeting was held at Cuernevaca, involving scholars from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico, in addition to a number from the United States, no agreement was reached on whether a *Dædalus* issue on the whole continent was feasible, what advantages might be realized by dealing only with the four major Latin American states, and how the issue of Cuba and the Caribbean ought to figure in such an issue. The interest in the region remained, and while much less was done with Latin America than with Europe, it is gratifying to note that in the year 2000—the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Brazil by Europeans—there will be a *Dædalus* issue on Brazil.

The Winter 1967 issue, "Religion in America," explored a theme that had figured too little in earlier *Dædalus* issues and had become increasingly important for the Journal. Emil Fackenheim, in writing of the "remarkable current reversal of traditional fronts among those professionally competent to consider the estate of religion," considered a condition in which "believers now exalt secular 'relevance' and 'celebrate' secular culture at the precise time when some former protagonists of secular culture look beyond it or even despair of it." As in many

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other issues, where there were a number of strong individual contributions, one essay more than any other commanded attention, that of Robert Bellah. His "Civil Religion in America" was cited and constantly reprinted. Bellah argued that while Christianity was thought to be America's principal faith, independent of it and of all other religious beliefs was an American civil religion that embraced all who thought of themselves as American. Until the Civil War, the American civil religion focused largely on the Revolution; with the coming of the war between the states, in Bellah's words, "a new theme of death, sacrifice, and rebirth" became part of the nation's faith. There were further accretions to the American civil religion in the twentieth century, and it was no accident that Bellah opened his essay with references to Kennedy's inaugural speech. As Bellah explained, the "Manichean confrontation of East and West," so prominent with Truman, which made communism the enemy of the American democracy, was gradually changed to one, in Kennedy's mind, that represented the struggle not so much as a conflict with individual men or with a foreign doctrine as "with the common enemies of man: tyranny, poverty, disease and war itself." Bellah's prose, powerful and eloquent, told a story that many found congenial; he wrote: "Behind the civil religion at every point lie Biblical archetypes: Exodus, Chosen People, Promised Land, New Jerusalem, Sacrificial Death and Rebirth. But it is also genuinely American and genuinely new. It has its own prophets and its own martyrs, its own sacred events and sacred places, its own solemn rituals and symbols. It is concerned that America be a society as perfectly in accord with the will of God as men can make it, and a light to all the nations."

"Color and Race," the Spring 1967 issue, continued on a larger and more ambitious international scale the inquiry that *Dædalus* began with its two volumes on "The Negro American." In this instance, it was the Ford Foundation, making a grant to the Congress for Cultural Freedom, that permitted the Journal to assemble in Copenhagen a remarkable group to discuss how color and race acted as barriers to human association, why even those nations that prided themselves on their purported freedom from racial discrimination rarely achieved

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the levels of tolerance they claimed for themselves. In a volume that included contributions from individuals from France, India, Guyana, Brazil, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Japan, an admirable opportunity was afforded to consider the issue of race and color in societies in Africa, Europe, Asia, Latin America, and North America. This, however, was more than a collection of empirical studies of conditions in these several places. The theoretical essays were an integral part of the issue. Edward Shils asked why color, an "inherently meaningless property of man," has "come to assume such great importance in the self-image of many human beings." That color often coincided with inferior position was a phenomenon Shils sought to explain, and he asked whether "self-identification by color has its origins in the sense of primordial connection with which human beings find it difficult to dispense."

This *Dædalus* issue suggested how an international perspective on a question that preoccupied Americans gave the matter a dimension it would not otherwise have had. Whether in the discussion of Black Muslims, Ras Tafaris, or the cargo cults of the Pacific Islands, the conditions that obtained in South Africa or the United States, where, according to C. Eric Lincoln, there was a "near pathological obsession with race and color," making it "probably the most important single index for uncritical human evaluation," the differences were as significant as the similarities. Looking at Latin America, at the differences between societies that had English colonial origins and those of Spanish and Portuguese origin, Julian Pitt Rivers spoke of the importance of appearance in determining social status. The correlation between class and color was considerable in all these societies. Florestan Fernandes recognized that in Brazil, the "burden of color" was one that few were able to escape. Those who wrote for the issue, like those who helped plan it, reflected the increasingly international outreach of the Journal.

Why, then, did these issues and those that followed dealing specifically with issues of race—not to mention those that dealt with one or other aspect of the race problem—never succeed in creating a community of scholars comparable to the one established on arms control? When one considers the number of *Dædalus* issues published after 1965 that dealt with such is-

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sues—one thinks, for example, of "Color and Race," "The Future of the Black Colleges," "Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism," "American Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans," "Black Africa, A Generation After Independence," and "*An American Dilemma* Revisited"—it is reasonable to ask why those studies, though well received individually, did not collectively create anything like the interest generated by the *Dædalus* issues on arms control. To begin with, the issue of race was contentious, and became increasingly so. After 1966, many blacks, particularly those of a younger generation, imagined that a too-close collaboration with white scholars, or even with blacks of the older generation, was impolitic; a good number sought to avoid such association. Inevitably, there was a ghettoization of race-relations studies, with many white scholars, men and women, feeling unwelcome in the field, sometimes going so far as to abandon it. Also, though many foundations, including both Carnegie and Ford, invested heavily in supporting serious scholarly inquiry into race issues, the federal government held back, never showing support for intellectual inquiry analogous to what it did in matters relating to the Soviet Union. No national or international community of race relations scholars, led by Americans or others, came into being. While the Editor was grateful for what a handful of foundations chose to do—particularly the Ford Foundation under McGeorge Bundy's inspired leadership—it was impossible to ignore the fact that as the most exaggerated fears of continued racial violence subsided, the interest in race receded. If many in the Academy continued to plead for new study, recognizing the gravity of the country's race problem, they were no longer responding to popular demands that had once made such studies, and urban studies more generally, such a compelling theme.

By the late 1960s, those responsible for *Dædalus*, increasingly preoccupied with what they believed to be a growing parochialism in the country—a provincialism that did not yet translate into new and more insidious forms of isolationism—made every effort to counter what they saw as a too-dangerous self-absorption with issues that another age might see as secondary, even peripheral. No one surveying the Journal during these years can fail to note the limited attention given to what

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the American news media then perceived to be the most earth-shaking event, the country's growing military engagement in Vietnam. While an unsympathetic critic, reviewing the *Dædalus* issues of these years, might imagine that the Editor and his associates were seeking deliberately to protect the administration of a president who had so recently contributed to its pages, having no wish to embarrass him, the reasons for not making the Vietnam War a central preoccupation of the Journal were considerably more complex.

Dædalus, refusing to be an American publication dwelling only on problems specific to the United States, concerned always to interest those who read the Journal abroad, accepted the fact that the war was an abomination but recognized also that the country knew very little about Vietnam, Cambodia, or Laos, and that American and European scholarship on these societies was negligible. Understanding of the complexities of Communist China was not appreciably greater; access to China was difficult and limited. To join in the American chorus pumping for continued military engagement in Southeast Asia, or that large and influential intellectual community that begged only for the country to desist, abandoning the area, seemed less compelling scholarly objectives than to advance understanding about the new international order and its vicissitudes. Terms like "new international order" were not much in vogue at the time, but they preoccupied Europeans and Americans able to look beyond the horrors of Vietnam, recognizing how important it was to call on Asians and Africans to join them in the kinds of deliberations that had led the Journal to publish its issue on "Conditions of World Order."

American intellectual life was becoming increasingly politicized; in this atmosphere a journal that sought to treat themes not intimately related to what the mass media deemed important was certain to experience difficulties. It was fortuitous that the Ford Foundation chose this time to make a generous grant to *Dædalus* that emphasized the importance of interdisciplinary study, particularly in the humanities. The grant allowed the Editor to choose among subjects recommended to him without requesting specific approval or sanction for each individual study. *Dædalus*, by this single gift, was given a freedom it had

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never previously enjoyed. At a time when scholarship seemed substantially less important than war, when humanistic themes did not command the attention they had claimed in much more tranquil times, this grant made an enormous difference to the Journal. The Ford Foundation's commitment to scholarship—to the close investigation of major scholarly themes in even the most esoteric fields—was to prove increasingly important as Americans became preoccupied, literally obsessed, with internal political issues, relating first to the war in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; later, with the crisis resulting from Watergate and the threat of presidential impeachment.

Simply to list some of the issues supported by this Ford Foundation grant, wholly or in part, is to suggest what the Journal gained from this generous philanthropic gift. In this period, perhaps more than in any other, *Dædalus* was able to give attention to the humanities. Whether the issue was "The Future of the Humanities," "Theory in Humanistic Studies," "The Making of Modern Science," "Historical Studies Today," "The Historian and the World of the Twentieth Century," "The Search for Knowledge," "Language as a Human Problem," "Twentieth-Century Classics Revisited," "Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism," "Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millenium, B.C.," "In Praise of Books," "Adulthood," "American Civilization: New Perspectives," "Rousseau for Our Time," or "Generations," the Ford grant provided the incentive for intellectual experiment, treating subjects that otherwise might never have surfaced. More than that, it permitted the Journal to publish on what might have been regarded as unfashionable themes, unlikely to win assent from foundations whose grant guidelines increasingly favored certain kinds of public-policy issues. While there was never even an implicit denial of the importance of *Dædalus* continuing to treat major public-policy questions—it did so repeatedly, and not only in respect to arms control or higher education—the Journal refused to make these matters its sole concern. Committed to scholarly inquiry in the broadest sense of the term, the Journal pursued intellectual paths it would not have been able to follow in the absence of the Ford Foundation grant.

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In the summer of 1967, *Dædalus* published a massive volume entitled "Toward the Year 2000: Work in Progress." This issue, inspired by Daniel Bell, reported on the work of the American Academy's Commission on the Year 2000, which Professor Bell had done so much to establish. As he explained in introducing the volume, its purpose was not to prophesy the future but to "anticipate future problems," realizing that decisions made in the present would necessarily affect what those problems were. In emphasizing the importance of choice, Bell stressed the significance of human agency. His boldness may be suggested by two sentences he wrote at the time: "The simple point is that a complex society is not changed by a flick of the wrist. Considered from the viewpoint of gadgetry, the United States in the year 2000 will be more *like* the United States in the year 1967 than *different*."

While that view might not be universally subscribed to today, it is certainly significant that the M.I.T. Press, more than thirty years after the publication of the original *Dædalus* issue, reprinted the issue in its entirety with a new Preface by Daniel Bell and me. Clearly, the propositions put forward by a group as disparate in their professions and academic disciplines as anyone could have hoped to assemble at the time offered interpretations and analyses that still claimed a certain resonance three decades later. Not everything of moment that happened in the last third of the century had been foreseen, but the volume was clearly something more than a historical document redolent of opinion and sentiment characteristic of the 1960s. The Academy, in creating the Commission on the Year 2000, as in its later establishment of the Assembly on University Goals and Governance, demonstrated its ability to bring scholarship into the service of problems addressed too airily and often too rhetorically by others. To anticipate the future and prepare for it was as worthy an intellectual exercise as any attempt to prophesy it.

The Spring 1968 issue, "Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership," with its insightful essays on individuals as different as de Gaulle, Bismarck, Nkrumah, and Gandhi, among others, demonstrated how studies initiated at Columbia University, with funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation and the

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W. K. Kellogg Foundation, could be converted into a *Dædalus* issue. The learned but tempered skepticism about characters superficially familiar to those who knew them principally from the more excited biographical commentaries of the mass media suggested how scholars, less given to hyperbole, were prepared to treat major world figures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This was a time when "psychohistory" was much in vogue, especially in the United States, and some believed that the marriage of history and psychology would soon produce biographies of a quite new kind. The *Dædalus* issue showed more than a little dubiety about that prospect. While there was no denial of the importance of charisma—a term that enjoyed great currency at the time—many found merit in the proposition advanced by Albert Hirschman that the ultimate purpose and function of the leader was "to improve on the *average* prospects of those whom he leads, to raise the expected value of their future." The individuals written about in the *Dædalus* issue were "heroes" of a sort, but not the Victorian heroes of Thomas Carlyle.

If history remained a prime concern of the Journal, its interest was also to build on its reputation for being concerned with the future, with what in its issue on the year 2000 had been defined as "alternative futures." *Dædalus*, less concerned with prophecy than with analysis, continued the project launched a few years earlier with its study of the environment in its Fall 1968 issue, "The Conscience of the City." What possibilities existed for an urban America that was being rapidly transformed? The Carnegie Corporation sponsored the inquiry and provided the funds that allowed city planners and others to meet over a period of two years, under the Guest Editorship of Martin Meyerson, then President of the State University of New York at Buffalo, to reflect on how American cities might be changed. The authors agreed that the ameliorative programs of the immediate past were no longer sufficient, that urban planning, with its emphasis on urban renewal, downtown parking, industrial development, playgrounds and the like, would not do very much to resolve the problems of school and residential segregation, violence and crime, or income maintenance. Finding a new and more compelling urban agenda was no easy

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matter. While all agreed with Meyerson that "an exhortation to change was not enough," it was obvious that the Fair Deal of Lyndon Johnson was coming to an end, in part because of the continuing war in East Asia, and that those who knew the most about America's cities had few solutions to the problems of urban decay that followed in the wake of the middle-class flight to the suburbs. The theme of "individual development," which called for "the training of more knowledge workers," sounded a somewhat hollow note in 1968, much as it does in 1999, which is not to say that prescriptions of this sort were not seriously canvassed.

With its Winter 1969 issue, "Perspectives on Business," *Dædalus* showed what it could do if it engaged Americans and Europeans, predominantly professors, joined by businessmen, journalists, and others, in an effort to reflect on how business was changing, why the managerial, technological, and planning "revolutions"—the last having already lost some of its postwar luster—were together producing an economy in the West fundamentally different from what had existed before World War II. The international dimensions of the industrial and commercial changes that had become characteristic of the "capitalist market economy"—terms still rarely used—figured prominently in essays that dealt with multinationals but also with many of the more traditional corporate giants. That the initiative came from the Amos Tuck School of Business Administration, which provided the funding for the project using grants it had received from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and the I.B.M. Corporation, and that the book that resulted from the *Dædalus* study, published by the M.I.T. Press, was edited by Eli Goldston, president of Eastern Gas and Fuel, a Boston-based organization, and Herbert Morton, Director of Publications for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, tells a good deal about the Journal's determination to reach out to professors in many disciplines and to mix them with others whose professional lives were outside universities. The arts and sciences, as *Dædalus* chose to define them, embraced individuals and subjects that might not have been thought relevant in 1958 when the Academy's membership and purview were much more limited.

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The Journal's ambitions were even more dramatically demonstrated in the almost four-hundred-page *Dædalus* issue that followed; in the spring of 1969, "Ethical Aspects of Experimentation with Human Subjects" appeared. Supported by a generous grant from the National Institutes of Health, it was the outcome of a year-long seminar that met monthly under the leadership of Paul Freund of the Harvard Law School, who had served as President of the Academy in the years 1964–1967. Freund, like other of the Presidents who had served since the founding of *Dædalus*—including Hudson Hoagland, who was much concerned with problems of human evolution, and Talcott Parsons, whose interest in race and ethnicity derived in part from his interest in social inclusion and exclusion—recognized very early how the Academy's Journal might serve to draw national attention to novel themes. It would be no exaggeration to say that the *Dædalus* issue on human experimentation did for its subject what the arms control volume, almost a decade earlier, had done to concentrate attention on another major public policy issue that had figured too little in public discussion. The published literature on the subjects treated by those who consented to write for the volume on human experimentation, when assembled as a working library for those who participated in the continuing seminar, covered barely a single shelf of four feet. While the origins of the growing interest in human experimentation were complex, some of the impetus for the inquiry came from revelations of what the Nazis had done during World War II. A good part of it derived from a new appreciation of what medical technology was able to do to prolong life. Given the enormously expanded budgets for medical research, and not only in the United States, there were compelling reasons for establishing criteria to legitimate specific kinds of experimentation, for taking into account the interests of both subject and investigator. The "regulation" of research, when it touched issues of life and death, necessarily concerned the larger society. The questions, at once ethical and scientific, were also social and legal; they called for new kinds of study and discussion. While *Dædalus* managed to give intellectual prominence to a theme previously neglected, it did more; even if it could not claim to have created a "human experimen-

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tation community" comparable to what it did to spawn the "arms control community," it indicated the rough parameters of a field that needed to be defined, that required more precise thinking about "codes of conduct" for both physicians and scientists, requiring more deliberate reflection on the contemporary definitions of death. The moral issues were no less complex than the legal.

While it would be a mistake to suggest that the intellectual history of a journal like *Dædalus* is best written with reference to political events, critical or ephemeral, that issued from decisions reached by elected officials in Washington, D.C., there can be no question that the national mood of the early 1960s was substantially different from that of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and that this affected the issues the Journal chose to treat. With the arrival of Richard Nixon in the White House, an earlier expectation of being able to influence the federal government receded, and while this did not preclude the continuing interest of *Dædalus* in major public questions, including arms control, foreign policy, health, and the like, there were new and compelling reasons for the Journal to become increasingly concerned with what was happening to learning and scholarship. Universities, troubled in ways that had been scarcely anticipated when John F. Kennedy took over from Dwight D. Eisenhower, commanded attention, having lost some of the earlier respect almost automatically granted them.

As I explained in my Preface to the Summer 1969 issue, "The Future of the Humanities," this was a time when all forms of authority were increasingly suspect; tradition had lost much of its earlier appeal; "the ideal of scholarship—with its presumed bias in favor of objectivity and impartiality—is itself challenged." I went on to say:

> In the humanities, quite as much as in the social sciences and the natural sciences, questions are asked about the social utility of inquiry that for many decades was unquestioned, its values having never been doubted. Motives are probed as they have not been in the past, and new criteria are offered for estimating the worth of particular endeavor. . . . The more sanguine among us say we are witnessing a "reformation" of traditional attitudes toward scholarship; others see the turmoil as evidence of a more fundamental

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> revolt, whose long-range effects we cannot hope to divine. Whether it be the former or the latter, it is indisputable that something of the greatest importance is happening. Whether one regards the politicization of humanistic enterprise as a virtue or a vice, the new a-historicism as a good or an evil, these developments presage others that are calculated to change the nature of humanistic enterprise.

This issue, read in 1999, must raise questions about how prescient were the men and women from academic fields as different as fine arts and architecture; literature, both classical and contemporary; psychiatry and philosophy; and music and history, meeting with writers, painters and musicians, in sounding a warning, in giving substance to the idea that "relevance" had to be taken into account by those concerned with the protection of scholarly independence.

MOVING INTO THE 1970s

Education figured prominently in these years when the war in Vietnam continued and student unrest assumed wholly new proportions. Because the conferences convened by *Dædalus* generated discussion that could not always be accommodated in individual issues, it seemed useful to publish segments of such material in a special issue appropriately entitled "Dialogues." Appearing in the fall of 1969, the issue included transcripts of conferences that had not led to *Dædalus* publication. The two dealing with the governance of American universities were enormously influential some years later in the establishment of the American Academy's Assembly on University Goals and Governance. No less important were the sessions held in Boston and Paris, dealing with higher education in industrial societies. With this project, which included men and women from France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany, Israel, and the Soviet Union as well as from the United States, a serious effort was made to discover the sources of alienation so conspicuous at the time among both faculty and students. It was not an accident that the *Dædalus* Winter 1970 issue bore the title: "The Embattled University." To compare this issue with the one pub-

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lished in the fall of 1964 is to have some sense of all that had changed in American higher education in less than a decade.

While it would have been easy for the Journal to make the problems of universities its central concern in the next decade, given both their complexity and their gravity, and while the Summer 1970 issue, "Rights and Responsibilities: The University's Dilemma" did in fact return to that theme, as did the Summer 1971 issue, "The Future of the Black Colleges," other no less compelling subjects commanded the attention of the Journal. While no one thought to deny the importance of the storms buffeting the nation's universities, indeed those of the world, and while *Dædalus* continued to be preoccupied with such matters, it seemed no less important to give attention to what was being achieved by scholars in what was increasingly regarded as a time of intellectual adversity.

The decade of the 1970s proved to be crucial for *Dædalus*, not least because the Journal, greatly helped by the Ford Foundation's generous interdisciplinary grant—the most important it ever received—allowed for the launching of major studies in the humanities and the social sciences, very broadly defined. A later generation of foundation officers, had they been approached with requests to support many of these issues individually, might have thought them too esoteric, too academic. Yet it was the Ford Foundation's grant that made such ventures possible and allowed me to convene a planning conference at the University of California, San Diego, and follow it with an authors' conference at the Villa Serbelloni, leading to "Theory in Humanistic Studies," the Spring 1970 issue. While the study might have been given a more appealing title—"The Genius of the Humanities" was considered for a time—those responsible for the issue had no wish to conceal the nature of their inquiry. In the humanities, as in the social sciences and the natural sciences, theory, when taken seriously, demanded effort, not least on the part of readers whose acquaintance with the subject was limited. Yet if there is an "intellectual community," as distinct from a community of "experts"—and *Dædalus* was created in the belief that such exists—certain subjects had to be treated.

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With "The Making of Modern Science: Biographical Studies," the Fall 1970 issue, no such questions arose. Whether the individual essays dealt with DNA, computers, social-system theory, or team research, their relevance to a larger subject was apparent. In one way or another, they dealt with major ideas in contemporary science, using that term to embrace a vast array of subjects in the natural and social sciences. The tenor of the time may be grasped from words I used in my Preface: "This is a moment when the rhetoric of political protest often finds fault with the activities of scholars. In the present political climate, scholarship, which had no need of public defenders a decade ago, suddenly seems vulnerable and exposed. There is some risk that the unique and unprecedented character of the scholarly achievement of the twentieth century will be discounted." Again, it was the Ford Foundation's grant that made the study possible; the hospitality of the Rockefeller Foundation's Villa Serbelloni allowed the authors to meet. Both were seeking to "foster communication between scholars whose disciplines are not contiguous, and who do not therefore traditionally meet."

Without the Ford Foundation's grant, it is impossible to imagine the two historical issues that appeared in the winter and spring of 1971, "Historical Studies Today" and "The Historian and the World of the Twentieth Century." That a major foundation should have thought it appropriate to render such generous support for issues that brought together historians of several generations from both sides of the Atlantic, and that they should have recognized what might be achieved when historians as different as Robert Darnton, Moses Finley, François Furet, Pierre Goubert, Eric Hobsbawm, Jacques LeGoff, Frank Manuel, Benjamin Schwartz, and Lawrence Stone, among others, appeared together in a single issue of over 250 pages, suggests that respect for historical inquiry had by no means disintegrated at a time when so many chose to speak only of "relevance." The essays prepared by the group assembled by Felix Gilbert, of the Institute of Advanced Studies at Princeton, who served as Guest Editor, could not possibly be accommodated in a single issue. While it was one thing for *Dædalus* to publish two large issues on a matter of great political sensitiv-

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ity—race, for example—the decision to publish a second issue on history suggested that scholarship remained as important for the Journal as even the most sensitive public-policy questions. With historians of the distinction of Gordon Craig, John Habakkuk, Thomas Kuhn, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Hans Mommsen, Peter Paret, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Stephan Thernstrom, Jan Vansina, and others, the second issue appeared to be no less essential than the first, and not only for those who were professional historians.

A question frequently asked is whether issues of *Dædalus* are sometimes aborted after the planning stage. The story of "Myth, Symbol, and Culture" (Winter 1972) is an interesting one in this regard. It began with the suggestion by Clifford Geertz and Paul de Man that we consider inviting scholars from many disciplines, but principally from anthropology and literature, to discuss the possibility of a *Dædalus* issue on what they called the "Systematic Study of Meaningful Forms." Invitations went out to twelve scholars, both in this country and abroad, but the group realized almost immediately that in this instance the problems of interdisciplinary discourse were too great. Even after days of intensive discussion, the meeting of minds that had been originally hoped for was not realized. While individual interventions had great interest for those who attended, they did not provide the unified themes that we imagined might be profitably explored. Clifford Geertz, feeling himself responsible as one of the meeting's conveners, decided to write more fully on a subject he had treated in one of his own interventions, which had commanded substantial interest in the group. The result was a paper entitled "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight." That essay, arriving on my desk, excited such admiration that I decided to send it on to others, hoping that they would be inspired by it to write on analogous themes they thought significant. The papers solicited in this manner became, in time, the *Dædalus* issue, and Clifford Geertz's "Balinese Cockfight" received more requests for republication than any article previously published in the Journal.

Dædalus, by the early 1970s, had become an international journal. With many meetings scheduled for what became for a time the *Dædalus* headquarters in Paris, the home of Adriana

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Salem, widow of an Academy Fellow, and with conferences frequently taking place in Bellagio, transatlantic communications with Western Europe were intense. Given the conditions that existed in the communist East, I, while regularly receiving Soviet visitors in the editorial offices in Cambridge, was only very occasionally able to arrange for Soviet scholars to participate in meetings abroad. With the Spring 1972 issue, "Intellectuals and Tradition," followed that summer by "Intellectuals and Change," the Journal moved further afield. Through the good offices of S. N. Eisenstadt of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a Foreign Honorary Member of the Academy, the Van Leer Jerusalem Foundation assembled a remarkable group of scholars from Europe, the United States, and Israel through its program on the Dynamics of Culture. Each of these issues might have been supported by the Ford Foundation's interdisciplinary grant; they were precisely the kinds of international encounters of men and women with deep commitments to scholarship in the humanities and the social sciences that the grant presupposed. The Van Leer Foundation support for an enterprise that proved moderately expensive allowed the Ford grant to be reserved for other comparable studies.

Indeed, "Post-Traditional Societies," published in the winter of 1973, may be seen as one of the several progenies of the Jerusalem meetings and owed much to the initiative of Eisenstadt, who served as its Guest Editor. While the title itself was ambiguous, leading me to acknowledge in my Preface that the term "post-traditional" was not especially felicitous, unlikely "to come to enjoy common usage," it touched on one of the most fundamental issues that has continued to preoccupy those who wish to make distinctions between modern societies, who recognize that modernization and development cannot be rendered simply in economic terms as functions of gross national product. In an issue that dealt with Burma and Ceylon, Thailand, India, Turkey, and the states of North Africa, among others, all conventionally characterized as "developing" societies—the term "underdeveloped" having already acquired its contemporary pejorative connotations—the authors argued that culture and tradition define a society quite as much as those criteria normally thought to be all-significant, those generally

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described as economic. If traditions were not as evanescent as some believed, and if the distinctions between societies, grounded in different historical experiences and in different religious beliefs, merited close scrutiny, was it possible to think of poverty, health, education, and all such matters without reference to these cultural preferences and traits? Eisenstadt, in assembling a remarkable group of scholars—anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and linguists from every corner of the globe—to meet in Rome to discuss their draft essays, did not dwell on the "practicality" of their researches, but all recognized that these were not esoteric intellectual exercises. It is very unlikely that a project of this sort, presented to a major foundation in the early 1970s, would have won quick support. With the Ford Foundation grant, which did not require explicit permission for each intended study, it became a real option for the Journal; its intellectual qualities and indeed its originality were unmistakable.

Just before the publication of this issue, the Journal published "How Others See the United States"—again, with Ford Foundation support. The Journal's failure to publish issues involving Latin American authors in good number could not be remedied by deciding to include a single article from an author in Mexico and another from an author in Brazil, but Octavio Paz's "Eroticism and Gastrosophy" told something of what the Journal was losing by not making a larger commitment to the engagement of major Latin American intellectuals. Octavio Paz wrote of the United States as the shadow that falls on the whole continent. In his view, the United States was everything that Mexico was not; it was a country that could not be avoided, even when it chose to pay little or no heed to Mexico. What engaged the interest of many readers was Paz's observation that a relationship that had once been "special" to Mexico had now become almost universal. There was no way to avoid the United States, or to put the matter more generously, less incentive to do so. That the issue included articles from men and women in France, Italy, and the United Kingdom was not surprising, given the Journal's history; that it included essays from Greece and Algeria suggested how much the Journal was seeking to establish itself in areas of the world previously unrepresented.

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Both "The Search for Knowledge," the Spring 1973 issue, and "Language as a Human Problem," which followed in the summer, owed their existence to the Ford grant. The first of these, patently interdisciplinary, brought together in a single *Dædalus* issue contributions from scholars in widely disparate fields and included, among others, Joseph Ben-David, Lewis Branscomb, Harvey Brooks, Ronald Dworkin, John Eccles, Northrop Frye, Ernst Gombrich, Harry Johnson, S. E. Luria, David Robinson, C. H. Townes, and Eric Weil. Although Peter Kapitza was unable to join the group in Paris, his contribution to the issue, on the organization of science in the Soviet Union, meant a great deal to all the others. To bring together so many distinguished natural scientists, humanists, and social scientists was a rare privilege.

"Language as a Human Problem" drew on the vast array of academic disciplines that have made the subject of language so crucial in academic institutions throughout the world. In this instance, two Harvard professors, Morton Bloomfield and Einar Haugen, provided both the intellectual stimulus and the editorial guidance that made a very complex set of essays, written by American scholars, meaningful not only to those in the field but also to the many thousands of others who were not especially versed in linguistics or linguistic theory. Only a small fraction of those who read any specific *Dædalus* issue can be expected to belong to the discipline of the author; the greatest majority will be strangers to the discipline. The challenge, then, is to write for both, to reach both. This issue, on a certain level, achieved that balance.

A very different kind of study resulted from an initiative undertaken by Resources for the Future, a Washington-based research institute, whose mandate was to study issues of conservation and resource development. When the Editors of *Dædalus* were approached to see whether the Journal would have interest in a critical study of the concept of the no-growth society—much touted at the time—it seemed a splendid opportunity to look at an idea that had received substantial attention both in this country and abroad, and not only in the mass media. Through the active participation of Mancur Olson, Hans Landsberg, and Joseph Fisher, all associated with Resources for

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the Future, a very original issue of *Dædalus* resulted. The fact that the group at one time considered calling the issue "The No-Growth Society: Problem, Solution, or Fad?" suggests the intellectual tone of the enterprise, written overwhelmingly by men in varying degrees skeptical of much of the "no-growth" propaganda of that day. Writing about this issue as I do at the end of the millenium, when growth is thought to be an incontestable good, is to realize again how distant in certain respects is the intellectual world of the 1970s.

"Twentieth-Century Classics Revisited," the Winter 1974 issue, like "Slavery, Colonialism, and Racism," which followed in the spring, came into being because of the Ford Foundation interdisciplinary grant. It is a comment on the freedom that this grant provided the Editor that two such disparate studies could be launched in so short a time and that each seemed wholly appropriate given the terms of the grant. While the second would almost certainly have gained financial support from foundations if presented as a foreign-policy study, having the funds readily available made possible a unique meeting at the Rockefeller Foundation's facility at the Villa Serbelloni, bringing together Nigerian, British, French, and American scholars to meet with others from Ghana, Barbados, and Sweden. Again, Paris provided the venue for the planning conference, and the Villa Serbelloni proved to be an admirable site for the authors' meeting. If the Caribbean had figured too little in earlier *Dædalus* issues, Sidney Mintz, the Guest Editor of this issue, made certain that this would no longer be the case. As I remarked in my Preface, "Black studies, however defined, cannot be considered a purely national enterprise; indeed, their international character may be one of their greatest potential strengths." A theme that had already figured years earlier, in the *Dædalus* issue "Color and Race," was reconfirmed.

"Science and its Public: The Changing Relationship," the Summer 1974 issue, was supported by the Commonwealth Fund and the National Science Foundation Office of the Public Understanding of Science. Gerald Holton, in association with William Blanpied, secured grants that made it possible to do more than raise questions about the importance of the growing suspicions about the legitimacy and utility of certain kinds of

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scientific endeavor. Our original thought was to entitle the volume "Science Between Its Clients and Its Critics," but we desisted from this, believing that it inadequately represented the views of many constituencies—the numerous publics—who had reason to be concerned with the well-being of science. Given the events of the 1960s it was important to register the changes that had taken place, that made science something other than the vaunted and favored enterprise it had been immediately after World War II. There had been significant movement, not least in public opinion, but also in Congress, and this had to be taken into account, but traditions that had once sustained American science had not wholly disintegrated. The worth of certain kinds of inquiry had become a contentious issue, and it was important for those who recognized society's dependence on science to think through all the ramifications of these developments.

In the Fall 1974 issue, "Fiction in Several Languages," essays were published on Japanese, Arabic, Filipino, Israeli, Brazilian, Greek, and Polish novels. Czeslaw Milosz, in his essay on "The Novel in Poland," preceded by a letter written to the Editor of *Dædalus*, asked whether his own boredom in reading most novels was not shared by many younger than himself, including his students at Berkeley, who much preferred to read poetry, essays, and philosophy. Between prose and poetry, Milosz wrote, "poetry is more sturdy, better rooted in the tradition of innumerable millennia, and probably better prepared for protean transformations." He expected fiction to survive, but harbored no illusions about what had happened to change both the novel and its audience. Many of the other authors also saw fiction as a literary form in constant flux, perpetually seeking new themes and new dimensions. This *Dædalus* issue revealed how much the cultures of the world differed, the claims of those who saw it only as a "global village" notwithstanding.

To read the more than seven hundred pages of the two *Dædalus* issues on "American Higher Education: Toward an Uncertain Future," which appeared in the fall of 1974 and the winter of 1975—the second time since the publication of the two volumes on "The Negro American" that the Journal published two successive volumes on a single subject—is to become

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acutely aware of how much certain problems do not disappear, are not even greatly transformed with the passage of time. These issues, which originated in the Assembly on University Goals and Governance, directed by Martin Meyerson and me, and created by the Academy in 1969 coincidental with the growing violence on American campuses, had led to the publication of a First Assembly Report in January of 1971, noted principally for its so-called Eighty-Five Theses. In 1974, the tenth anniversary of the start of what some had come to see as a time of "university troubles," I wrote many who knew American higher education intimately to ask whether "a decent observance of an important event" might not be marked by the publication of a special issue of *Dædalus* that treated the problems and promise of American higher education. In issuing the invitation, I said: "To encourage the widest expression of opinion and, hopefully, the widest participation, we are asking for contributions of from 500 to 5,000 words, in whatever form, and dealing with whatever themes seem particularly urgent to you."

No one involved in conceiving this *Dædalus* issue prophesied correctly the number who would accept the Editor's invitation to write. Nor, for that matter, were they prepared for the kinds of observations and recommendations made by individuals deliberately chosen to reflect not only different disciplines but also different ideological and political stances. These two volumes, unique in their authorship, provide an extraordinary document on how American colleges and universities were perceived in the mid-1970s by men and women intensely concerned about their well-being. More than that, much of what is contained in these issues is no less relevant to American higher education today than when originally published more than two decades ago. *Plus ça change*—the old chestnut—may be the most appropriate judgment to render on American higher education as it has evolved in the last quarter of a century. Whether a comparable judgment can be made on American politics or on purported economic transformations is certainly debatable.

"Wisdom, Revelation, and Doubt: Perspectives on the First Millenium B.C.," the Spring 1975 issue, suggests what *Dædalus* was able to achieve with its Ford grant that could not have been

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accomplished in any other way. There is no reason to believe that if we had approached any American foundation with this specific proposal in the mid-1970s, a grant would have been made. The issue would have seemed too esoteric. Through the Ford grant and the inestimable help of two Fellows, Arnaldo Momigliano and Benjamin Schwartz, and a Foreign Honorary Member, Eric Weil, a remarkable group of scholars assembled in Venice at the Giorgio Cini Foundation to discuss a time when a number of "higher civilizations" developed in the Middle East and Europe, wholly altering the religious and intellectual landscape of the world. The learning evident in this issue made it a symbol of what a major foundation could accomplish in supporting such intellectual endeavor.

Though the Journal had made greater strides in its treatment of humanistic themes in the 1970s than it had managed to achieve in earlier decades, it could not wholly abandon those public policy issues that had so commended themselves in the period before the Ford grant was made. In the summer of 1975, an issue entitled "Arms, Defense Policy, and Arms Control" appeared. While it could never open a field in the way that the 1960 issue had done, the issue garnered support that originated with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences' Committee for Pugwash Conferences and included an impressive list of foundations, among them the Ford Foundation, the Johnson Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Arms control, as a discipline, had come of age, and *Dædalus* took pride in having been present at the creation.

If the Journal chose never to neglect those themes that had figured in its early years—whether they related to arms control, race issues, or education—from time to time crises arose in the world that called out for a special issue. This was certainly the case with the Fall 1975 issue, "The Oil Crisis: In Perspective," which went substantially beyond what the mass media were reporting on the grim events in the Middle East of 1973–1974. H. Stuart Hughes once said that the original *Dædalus* issue on Europe had been useful to him as contemporary history when originally published; he had been using it as a text in his modern

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history courses in the decades since. Something of the same may be happening to this issue on a crisis that seemed remote until quite recently. For years, while oil prices plummeted and OPEC's power waned, the 1973 crisis appeared to be interesting principally as history. Today, when there is renewed talk of an escalation in oil prices, when OPEC again figures on the front page of the *New York Times,* the *Dædalus* issue, which owed so much to its Guest Editor, Raymond Vernon, seems again strangely relevant.

If the Journal sought always to engage younger authors—men like Romano Prodi, who wrote for the oil crisis issue and is today the President of the European Commission—it was no less anxious to involve more senior scholars. Our only reservation, given the Journal's concern to involve younger men and women, still relatively unknown, was that senior scholars would be invited to write only very occasionally. Erik Erikson, together with Talcott Parsons and Raymond Aron, was an honorable exception to this rule. Erikson wrote some of his most important essays for *Dædalus* and was chiefly responsible for at least two issues: one on youth, the other on adulthood. The issue entitled "Adulthood," published in the spring of 1976, included Erikson's "Reflections on Dr. Borg's Life Cycle," an analysis of the Ingmar Bergman character in *Wild Strawberries.* Scarcely less interesting among the many remarkable essays in this issue were those dealing with Christian, Islamic, and Confucian concepts of adulthood, along with essays on adulthood as perceived in India and Japan.

Celebrating anniversaries has always seemed appropriate for a Journal like *Dædalus.* When Glen Bowersock and John Clive approached me with the suggestion that we mark the bicentennial of the publication of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* with a *Dædalus* issue, it seemed an admirable suggestion. Nathan Pusey, known to all of us, was President of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the decision was made to seek financial assistance from that foundation. In that distant era, still markedly pre-bureaucratic, the offer to help launch the project was made with startling rapidity—the requested grant arrived within a matter of days. The authors' conference opened in Rome at the Campidoglio, near

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where Gibbon had first been inspired to write his *Decline and Fall*. From there, the conference moved to the magnificent quarters of the Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, where the more informal discussions of the individual draft essays were held. A reception at the Academia Nazionale dei Lincei and at other scarcely less celebrated Roman sites made the conference memorable for all who participated: scholars from France, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

In "American Civilization: New Perspectives," the Fall 1976 issue, the project on adulthood launched by Erik Erikson received additional attention, with conditions that obtained in the United States being the principal subject. This issue, intended to herald a much longer study scheduled for 1977 that would bear the title "A New America?" reflected the concern of both the Editor and the Board of Editors to give more attention to what was happening in the United States. That objective was realized most dramatically in the Winter 1977 issue, "Doing Better and Feeling Worse: Health in the United States," which owed a great deal to Dr. John Knowles, its Guest Editor. Dr. Knowles had been invited by Nelson Rockefeller, in his capacity as Chairman of the Commission on Critical Choices for Americans, to prepare papers on health care. A number of the essays in the issue originated as papers prepared for that Commission, but it was only through the intense efforts made by Dr. Knowles over many months that these essays—often rough and unfinished—became the polished essays published in *Dædalus*. The title was unquestionably felicitous; so, also, were the papers of men and women who knew the complexities of America's health situation and were prepared to make bold suggestions for change.

If the Ford Foundation, led by McGeorge Bundy, was instrumental in helping to make possible *Dædalus* issues that allowed Americans and Europeans to celebrate some of the more remarkable scholarly achievements of their day, the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, first under Nathan Pusey and then under John Sawyer, made a comparable contribution, though on a smaller scale. The *Dædalus* issues on "The Family" (Spring 1977), "The State" (Fall 1979), and "Religion" (Winter 1982) were all generated by a major grant generously given by that foundation. Each, in its own way, sought to illustrate the kinds

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of questions that scholars were posing. While each of these institutions seemed "endangered"—none perhaps more than the family, although some imagined the state to be also declining—few of the authors saw religion as a spent force. Mary Douglas, writing on "The Effects of Modernization on Religious Change," asked why "events have taken religious studies by surprise." Douglas believed that no one had foreseen the revival of traditional religious forms. Looking only at those conditions of modern life antipathetic to religions, many had failed to see what was so obvious—religion was flourishing, not dying, giving birth not to a new secularism but to new religious belief. These three issues, in very different ways, attest to how these major institutions were viewed by men and women living in the late 1970s. As such, they are a historical record of great importance.

Contemporary scholarship had become a principal concern of those responsible for *Dædalus*. In two issues appropriately entitled "Discoveries and Interpretations: Studies in Contemporary Scholarship," published in the summer and fall of 1977, efforts were made to assess the condition of scholarly activity in fields as different as art history, elementary particle physics, international relations, anthropology, archaeology, geology, the history and philosophy of science, astronomy, economics, biology, and history, to name but a few of the many treated in these slim issues. For those curious to know what leading figures in these divergent fields believed to be the most significant research tendencies in their disciplines, these volumes provided invaluable information. When one considers that they were published more than two decades ago, one can only ask whether the transformations since then have been as significant as the continuities.

The Journal concluded its second decade of life as a quarterly with an issue of exceptional interest. "A New America?" raised questions about how the country was changing and what indeed had happened since the ascent of John F. Kennedy to the presidency. In essays as remarkable as those by Elizabeth Hardwick on "Domestic Manners" and by McGeorge Bundy on "The Americans and the World," the authors were as prepared to recognize failures as successes. The question that

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Hardwick asked—"Where is the future?"—was not one that very many cared to wager on, though the optimism and self-assurance of some of the younger authors, including Rosabeth Moss Kanter, writing about "Work in A New America," were impressive. Nancy Needham Wardell, writing about modern corporations, was less certain, being not at all sure that "good things will happen." In her words, "we will muddle along, missing the broad trends and issues. . . ." In many ways, "A New America?" spoke a message of doubt more than it did of great optimism. The events of the 1960s and 1970s had indeed cast a pall on what had once been a most unbecoming utopianism.

It was entirely appropriate that *Dædalus* should begin the celebration of its own twentieth-anniversary year as a quarterly with an issue entitled "Limits of Scientific Inquiry." When one considers the first of the issues published under Gerald Holton's editorship, "Science and the Modern World View," and compares it with this issue, the extent of the changes of the intervening years becomes apparent. The Spring 1978 issue grew out of a continuing M.I.T. seminar led by Robert Morison and Gerald Holton and sponsored by M.I.T.'s Science, Technology, and Society program. M.I.T.'s Provost, Walter Rosenblith, in issuing invitations to the seminar, had written: ". . . it is now maintained by many that scientists and scholars have long had a bargain with society by which they have produced ideas and devices with few constraints, but that now this bargain is in danger of breaking down or in need of revision. Understanding the extent and reasons for such changes should be of interest in its own right, and may also improve our ability to deal with practical problems which some of us are now facing." Without specifically mentioning the controversies that had grown up at M.I.T. and elsewhere on whether certain researches on DNA were legitimate and what dangers they posed, the seminar had considered issues that would not even have been thought of in 1958. Grants from the National Science Foundation's Office of the Public Understanding of Science, the Commonwealth Fund, and the National Endowment for the Humanities made both the seminar and the issue possible; they attest to the fact that policy-oriented issues of this kind continued to find quick support.

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To find near-equivalent support for an issue on Jean-Jacques Rousseau would not have been equally easy. Again, as before, it was the Ford Foundation's grant that made such a serious scholarly endeavor in the humanities possible. The year 1978, the two hundredth anniversary of the deaths of Rousseau and Voltaire, led some in the Academy to wonder whether an issue treating both would not be an exercise to command interest in many circles, and not only among those concerned with intellectual history. In the end, it was decided to treat only Rousseau. As I explained in my Preface, ". . .he, perhaps more than any other intellectual of his century, anticipated an agenda of moral, political, social, and aesthetic concerns that remains preoccupying for those alive today." Many of those who had been most helpful to *Dædalus* in the past, including Frank Manuel, Judith Shklar, Jean Starobinski, and Benjamin Schwartz, contributed to an issue that enjoyed considerable acclaim on both sides of the Atlantic.

In "Generations. . . ," reflecting on all that had changed in the preceding twenty years, I wondered how any of these events would appear in historical perspective. As I wrote in my Preface:

> Is there any reason to believe, for example, that 1968 was a significant date in world history—comparable to 1848—and that it helped shape a generation's thinking? If so, which generation, and how? Or was 1973, with its oil embargo and substantial increase in fuel prices, a decisive moment of change? Again, for whom, and with what intellectual and other consequences? Or, are these events essentially parochial, almost trivial, of little consequence beside certain others which have entailed a vast expansion in the number of nation-states, a massive proliferation of nuclear weapons, and the development of wholly new nationalisms, not to speak of new ethnic and racial identities? How did these and other like developments shape a generation? Which generation? When? Where?

Annie Kriegel, writing from France, was only one of those who questioned whether there had been any "universal events in the last thirty years," anything at all comparable to the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution, World War I, or World War II. Noel Annan, from a quite different perspective, reflect-

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ing on three generations in England, wrote an essay that inspired him to write his book, "Our Age," an incomparable study of twentieth-century England. In his view, the best evidence to suggest that generations did in fact exist was that so many always thought that they did.

While the Journal sought always to turn to new themes, it never thought to abandon those that had figured previously. If the United States was thought to be passing through a period of turmoil, the same could be said of Western Europe. In both "Looking for Europe" and "Old Faiths and New Doubts: The European Predicament," *Dædalus* reopened discussion on what appeared to be the major developments in that part of the world, originally investigated in its seemingly ancient issue on "A New Europe?" Again, the differences from the conditions that obtained in the 1960s could not be masked; the terms "crisis" and "disillusionment" figured too prominently for anyone to doubt that the age of the *Wirtschaftswunder* and the *miracolo* had ended, for the moment at least. What the longer-range prospects for Europe might be, few of the authors—European or American—were prepared to say.

THE 1980s

If the history of *Dædalus* is to be written as something other than an account of political change in Washington, D.C.—an account that would be a vast distortion of the Journal's intent—attention must be given to the continuities between issues prepared during the last years of the Carter administration and the first years after Ronald Reagan entered the White House. "Modern Technology: Problem or Opportunity?" and "The End of Consensus" were both published during the Carter presidency, as were the two issues on "U.S. Defense Policy in the 1980s." No one looking at "American Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans" would have guessed that this was the first issue published after Reagan's ascent to the presidency, or that two that followed almost immediately, dealing with America's schools, public and private, were also produced at that time. To emphasize this is only to state the obvious: *Dædalus* felt no obligation to treat only or principally those questions that

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seemed paramount to individuals who lived their lives within what had come to be known as the Beltway, experiencing what the mass media thought to be most vital, most deserving of consideration. *Dædalus,* by its independence of anything that might be mistaken for federal patronage, was free to concern itself with those matters that commended themselves to Fellows and to that much larger company of men and women who read the Journal, subscribed to it, and were more than ready to recommend themes not previously treated.

It must be acknowledged, however, that the changes in American political life, as reflected in national elections and in a public opinion that was being very substantially altered, could not fail to affect the Journal, determining in many ways the subjects it chose to treat for which support could be found. When *Dædalus*, during the administration of John F. Kennedy, thought to treat arms control, its objectives had been two: to illuminate a subject still too little known, and to influence government programs. Both objectives seemed reasonable. So, also, with the issue on race, for which the objectives were to move beyond the seminal work of Gunnar Myrdal—to suggest all that had happened to race relations since the end of World War II—and to influence government policy. With Lyndon Johnson in the White House proclaiming the need for attention to be given to race issues, that had seemed a reasonable aim. With Ronald Reagan in the White House, such an objective seemed remote.

When *Dædalus* published its Spring 1981 issue, "American Indians, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans," the object was not to celebrate "multiculturalism"—a term that had not yet become commonplace—but to acknowledge diversity and to emphasize the crucial importance of achieving certain social and political objectives to help eradicate poverty and injustice. The origins of the issue owed much to McGeorge Bundy, who proposed it to me and made a special Ford Foundation grant to allow it to go forward. As I wrote in my Preface:

> At a time when the country's attention appears to be diverted from many of the pressing matters raised by the essays in this volume, it is important to insist that certain grave national problems do not

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disappear simply because they are left unattended. To the extent that this issue contributes to restoring certain problems to the public agenda, contributing to a debate that cannot be permanently adjourned, to that extent does it serve a public purpose. To the extent that we recognize how immensely complex certain of these questions are, and how much they call for wholly new investments of intellectual capital, to that extent do we suggest what a substantial intellectual effort needs to be made if new insights and understanding are to be looked for. This issue of *Dædalus* has raised profoundly disturbing questions that many may wish to ignore. That option carries very real hazards; they ought certainly to be avoided.

With the termination of the Ford Foundation's very generous grant to support interdisciplinary studies, which had enabled the Journal to publish so many issues on what to some readers may have seemed recondite subjects in the humanities and which had served also to create productive intellectual liaisons between scholars in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences, the need for discovering new financial support became critical. Because so many foundations were developing guidelines to govern their grant-giving activities and because it was imperative that *Dædalus* not simply agree to publish on those issues that the major foundations were prepared to support, it was essential that other financial resources be sought. The Ford interdisciplinary grant, in the freedom it had given the Journal to explore whatever themes it deemed important, had created an appetite for adventure. If *Dædalus* was to maintain its planning and authors' conferences, assembling men and women who would not otherwise meet, it would have to continue to seek financial support from foundations and would be obliged to look to other agencies as well.

This is what made the Summer and Fall 1981 issues, respectively entitled "America's Schools: Public and Private" and "America's Schools: Portraits and Perspectives," so very special. That a private secondary school, St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire, would be willing to fund a study of secondary education, encouraging a candid discussion of both private and public education in the United States, was itself revealing. That such a school was prepared to assemble the

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authors, plan the issue, and allow the authors to discuss early drafts of their essays, that it was willing also to allow its grant to be used to support inquiry into schools thought to be exemplary, showed a willingness to engage men and women with very different kinds of professional interests in schooling to work together and to criticize each other's findings. Whether the essay was written by Robert Coles, whom *Dædalus* had published years earlier when he was still a very young scholar; by Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, just beginning her career as a teacher and scholar; by Alonzo Crim, the black Superintendent of Schools of Atlanta; or by Father Timothy Healy, the President of Georgetown, the Rector of St. Paul's School, Dr. William Oates, had made the whole venture possible. He recognized that a well-endowed private school like St. Paul's had an obligation to look beyond itself, beyond other boarding schools of comparable size and stature, to survey an educational scene with peaks and valleys. The two issues were incomparable for their analyses of what was happening in America's schools.

With schooling, *Dædalus* had chosen a theme that many foundations might have been more than willing to support. By the early 1980s, schooling had become one of the critical issues for which funding from many sources was available. If *Dædalus* could have become a "black studies journal" in the mid-1960s—given the anxiety of many to support such inquiry then—it might have done something comparable in the 1980s and 1990s with schooling. When one considers the importance of the theme, it is not surprising that *Dædalus* returned to it repeatedly, much as it did with arms control, defense policy, and the like. However, the Journal, if it was to retain its readership, had to be something other than a publication committed to a few subjects only. Indeed, one of its boasts was precisely that it sought to publish on many themes, that it reached out to many authors and not simply to a small company, principally British and American, whose reputations for writing well made them the reasonable target of journals that saw no problem in having a small and select stable of authors.

When the decision was made to publish an issue on "Black Africa: A Generation After Independence" in the spring of 1982, everyone recognized that Africa was not the subject of

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overwhelming interest either for the new administration in Washington or for the mass media. While the continued communist infiltration in certain parts of Africa continued to receive some attention, as did *apartheid* in South Africa, the continent as a whole was largely neglected. This, indeed, commended the subject to those responsible for *Dædalus*. It was hoped that by engaging such distinguished scholars of Africa as Colin Leys, Jan Vansina, and Crawford Young, by mixing them with renowned international-relations experts like Hedley Bull and inviting prominent African scholars to join them, a unique issue would result. Such, in fact, did follow from the authors' conference held at Bellagio. However, it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that the issue had great influence, either in shaping foreign policy with regard to Africa or even in encouraging new study of that vast continent in American and other universities. Book publishers, which habitually rushed to publish the overwhelming number of *Dædalus* issues, showed no interest in the issue on Africa. As one prominent New York publisher explained, Africa had no great appeal for the American reading public. This experience might have suggested to another editor that such issues ought to be avoided in the future. In fact, it had the opposite effect. If Africa remained largely unknown to the American reading public, and if there was no incentive on the part of commercial or university presses to change this, a journal like *Dædalus,* which prided itself on its internationalism, needed to continue to seek support for studies of areas of the world that were too little known. The experience with the Africa issue provided the incentive for what became a new *Dædalus* objective: to publish on countries abroad, inadequately known, and to do so with authors drawn overwhelmingly from those societies.

The next issue of *Dædalus,* "Representations and Realities," reverted to an older tradition, publishing essays that did not relate to a single theme and did not derive from meetings summoned by the Editor. In this instance, the essays were all in the humanities, with historical, anthropological, literary, philosophical, artistic, and musical themes considered. Traditional disciplinary boundaries were transgressed; conventional academic constraints were ignored. I summed up my own impres-

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sions of the essays when I wrote: "They show immense freedom in the ways that they use the artifacts of our culture, refusing to be constrained by old-fashioned notions of dignity, 'worthiness,' or appropriateness." Many of the essays were bold; they suggested why the humanities, scarcely less than the natural sciences and the social sciences, were no longer wholly preoccupied with questions and methods that had seemed so compelling at an earlier time. The essay titles are themselves intriguing, treating subjects that might not have figured so prominently when *Dædalus* began its life in 1958. Consider, for example, "Filthy Rites" by Stephen Greenblatt, "Putting Cruelty First" by Judith Shklar, "Mahler and Klimt: Social Experience and Artistic Evolution" by Carl Schorske, "The Versatile Signor di Bassetto: An Essay in Crime Prevention" by John Clive, "The Dream Narrative and the Indian Doctrine of Illusion" by Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty, or "The West Wind and the Mingled Measure" by John Hollander. A study of those essays can only reveal what scholars in the humanities knew to be happening: their research agenda had indeed changed, and not only in directions intended to make humanistic studies more "relevant." Something far more fundamental had occurred. Individuals, societies, and traditions once scarcely considered at all were being given greater attention, with imaginative joining of all sorts of materials in ways that had not been at all common previously.

The issues that followed, in one way or other, dealt with major changes in the cultural life of contemporary society. "Print Culture and Video Culture" was more than a study of what television had done to change reading habits; it aspired to do something of greater importance, to consider what certain of the new technologies that were creating what had come to be known as the "information revolution" were doing to change science, politics, and thought. It was as much about the culture of electronic print, and how it might change intellectual life, as it was about politics, presidential elections, wars, race relations, and other such matters that figured prominently in a time of perpetual crises.

"Reading: Old and New," published in the winter of 1983, was something of a reprise of an issue published twenty years

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earlier, "The American Reading Public." If there were many reading publics in the country, what were they? In my Preface, I wrote:

> Who reads? Why do they read? Is the habit growing, declining, or simply changing? In asking these questions, do we start with a cultural bias in assuming that it is good for people to read, that they ought to occupy themselves reading serious books, and that this ought to be a lifetime pursuit? What possible reason do we have for believing any of this? Who is Dr. Johnson's "common reader," and what is he reading today? If there exists now, as never before, a mass of people capable of reading, does it necessarily follow from this that they will want to read or that they should want to?

Such questions, needless to say, went to the very heart of the larger question of what a journal like *Dædalus* could be, whom it ought to appeal to, and why.

If an earlier generation of literary scholars had made philology all-important in their studies, and if a more recent one had emphasized the "new criticism"—the close reading of literary texts—the new literary scholarship emphasized quite other kinds of questions. Complaints were being heard that this scholarship was largely incomprehensible to laymen, but those who pursued such studies asked whether that really mattered. Why, they asked, was it appropriate for scientists to address themselves to issues that laymen could not possibly comprehend, and yet inappropriate for humanists to do the same? An issue was being joined that would continue to bedevil scholarship in the humanities for years to come.

If the state of literary criticism seemed important to those who gazed with alarm (or pleasure) at what appeared to be happening in the course offerings of universities—how much the so-called canon was being neglected in favor of certain new theories—others, more distant from that scene, worried about a quite different problem: the growth of what they perceived to be "scientific illiteracy" in many advanced democratic societies, including the United States. The Spring 1983 *Dædalus* issue on "Scientific Literacy" probed the question of why the teaching of science was proving to be so difficult, and what price

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societies paid for such mass illiteracy. While some who wrote on the subject emphasized the professional and vocational deficits incurred, other losses were also being felt, not unrelated to what were perceived to be losses in economic productivity. Kenneth Prewitt, for example, went so far as to suggest that the general public ignorance of science was one element in what he thought to be "the crisis of democracy." Yet finding ways to improve science teaching, and indeed to assure the child's ability to observe nature closely that David Hawkins called for, seemed realizable objectives. Indeed, in John Kemeny's view, "computer literacy" was even more important than "scientific literacy," and he argued that such literacy could be attained by a substantial portion of the population. In what some might have thought a somewhat utopian observation, Kemeny suggested that "widespread computer literacy will help to solve the problem of scientific literacy."

In its Summer 1983 issue, "The Arts and Humanities in America's Schools," *Dædalus* probed two equally daunting but less commonly discussed questions: why did art figure so little in the curricula of American public schools, and what could certain exemplary institutions do to instruct the others in what may be achieved if the arts are seen as something other than so-called arts appreciation courses? There were no recommendations for courses in "creativity" or "individual expression"; on the contrary, authors argued for something more substantial—instruction in art as one way to give students a respect for discipline and competence. Arts instruction, properly carried out, some claimed, would not seek to make children "feel good" or give them a step up on the ladder to professional success in the arts. Aristotle's words were quoted with approval: "It is clear that children should be instructed in some useful things . . . [but] to be always seeking after the useful does not become free and exalted souls." This segment of the issue, supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, treated subjects that had not figured previously in *Dædalus*.

The second half of the issue, supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, treated themes originally broached in the *Dædalus* issues supported by St. Paul's School. The Editor, collaborating with others, undertook to make a

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fairly intensive study of schools, both public and private, concentrating on those of a single American city. For many reasons, it seemed appropriate not to name the city—Providence, Rhode Island—and for a few months its identity was concealed under the pseudonym "Libertyville." Just as the more famous "Middletown" was quickly identified—sleuths being common even in an earlier age less given to taking exaggerated pride in investigative reporting—so "Libertyville" soon lost its anonymity. The study of instruction in the humanities—specifically English, foreign languages, and history/social studies in Providence schools—emphasized how great were the differences between public school education in these disciplines and that generally available in private schools. The private secular day schools, with their relatively high tuitions, concerned principally with preparing middle-class children for admission to universities, were substantially different institutions from the more open Catholic high schools, catering to a much less homogeneous student body. The "housing project" public schools were a revelation to some who visited them, who had not previously understood how much the maintaining of even a measure of decorum and order in the classroom could prove to be the teacher's major concern, making instruction in individual subjects almost a secondary matter. The "Libertyville" project, while not pursued in a second city in the South as was originally intended, persuaded the Editors that secondary education was a theme to which the Journal would do well to revert.

With the *Dædalus* issue on "Human Rights," published in the fall of 1983, the Journal moved to consider a subject and indeed a phrase that had acquired very specific twentieth-century resonances. It is not altogether surprising that the issue opened with an essay by Maurice Cranston that asked whether our "human rights" were not essentially the eighteenth-century's "rights of man" dressed in twentieth-century garb. The *Dædalus* issue itself, while concerned with both political and social rights, acknowledged what all knew to be true: that the term carried very different meanings within and outside the communist world. In the context of 1983, that fact was significant. Whether I was guilty of hyperbole when I averred "Human rights may be the single most important neglected subject of both our national

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and international political agendas" is certainly debatable. More acceptable, certainly, was my assertion: "The rights rhetoric of our time is in urgent need of repair, not only because its revision might serve to inspire a confidence that is so conspicuously lacking at the present time, but because it might suggest institutional changes that we are generally disinclined to contemplate." Those who read the volume realized at once that it dealt with highly sensitive issues, related to differences of opinion about race, religion, and poverty. Its careful consideration of political and cultural conditions, as they existed in the United States, the Marxist world, Africa, and Latin America, suggested that any universal acceptance of "human rights" with a precision analogous to what had existed for those who accepted and believed in the eighteenth-century "rights of man" was not imminent.

If the *Dædalus* issue on Africa had revealed anything, it was that African studies was no longer an exotic field; the days were far distant when someone like Melville Herskovits, the anthropologist, was one of a small band of Americans studying the continent seriously in one of the very few American universities committed to African studies. In the new post-independence age, it was easy to believe that the study of Africa would prosper only when it engaged scholars from Africa, collaborating with others, black and white, from Europe, the United States, and elsewhere. That proposition was not universally accepted in the United States after the late 1960s, at least by certain black scholars who questioned the capacity of their white colleagues to empathize with a continent from which their ancestors had not come. No such sentiment existed among those who studied Europe in the United States. No one imagined that one had to claim ancestry in the so-called Nordic world—in the societies of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland, and Iceland—to write about them. Yet if one gazed at American scholarship on those countries, one could not fail to note how much in fact was written by individuals able to claim descent from men and women who had emigrated from "Norden," who congregated principally in a handful of universities where their students for the most part claimed the same ancestry. This, while not wholly surprising, concealed another more sig-

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nificant fact—though these countries were collectively among the most stable democratic societies of Europe, they were relatively unknown in the United States and too little written about. They had not figured in the *Dædalus* issues that had treated the more populous societies of Western Europe.

When, therefore, the American Scandinavian Foundation agreed to help with such an issue and funds were provided by Det Norske Veritas, with additional support from the U.S. Information Agency, there was an opportunity to consider whether the flattering opinions of Marquis Childs, uttered in the 1930s in *Sweden: The Middle Way,* still expressed a reality about that country or indeed about any of its Nordic neighbors. Childs wrote his book at a time when, in my words, "the European democracies were dispirited and divided, when totalitarianism appeared to be in the ascendancy almost everywhere, when war threatened and the whole of European civilization was thought to be at risk." What had happened in the intervening half century? The Winter 1984 *Dædalus* issue, "The Nordic Enigma," and the one that followed, "Nordic Voices," published in the spring of 1984, described societies that few who read the Journal knew except as they experienced them as tourists.

There were many surprises in the issues, not the least being that these nations, superficially similar, with many common traits, remained significantly different. More than that, few among the authors seemed able (or willing) to write about any society except the one they lived in. If there were still too few Germans prepared to write with authority about Italy, and too few French scholars ready to write about the United Kingdom, the problem was not greatly different in these societies. W. R. Mead, of University College, London, expressed the situation concisely when he wrote:

> It is the ultimate paradox that at a time when the integration among the peoples of Norden is at its most intense, the national image of the individual countries should have acquired its sharpest expression. For all the common challenges presented by the physical environment, for all the common pressures of the geopolitical setting, for all the proved benefits of an integrated economy and society, any form of political unity in Norden has been and

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> remains a chimera. The map of northern Europe shows five countries, and it is unlikely to change. Broader groupings within the area can at best claim a secondary allegiance and under pressure, this will always yield to a first. Harmony exists between the countries of Norden, but each state is a unique entity, steeped in its own mythologies, its inhabitants harboring emotions born of experiences particular to the terrains and territories of their homeland. Whatever else may be said, geography—the space they occupy on the globe—is the final arbiter of their individual and collective fates.

If the volumes on "Norden" told those responsible for *Dædalus* anything, it was that the American mass media were immensely selective in what they chose to report about the world abroad and that great parts of the universe remained virtually unknown. Significant, certainly, was the fact that the two volumes on the societies of northern Europe, unlike issues of the Journal that dealt with Western Europe, never found a hardcover or paperback publisher in the United States, though they were published as a book in Norway by the Norwegian University Press. That experience confirmed what had already been learned in the issue on Africa: America's interest in the external world was highly selective. The Journal would do well to turn to other parts of the world largely unreported in the United States that also merited closer scrutiny.

The Winter 1985 issue, "Australia: Terra Incognita?" bore a title that suggested something of the ambivalence felt about a distant and sparsely-populated continent that many tens of thousands of American (and Allied) servicemen had known during World War II. The Australia issue, like those published decades earlier on Western Europe, was conceived almost wholly by scholars and others native to the society, who lived and worked there, and only very incidentally by the few who studied it from a distance. As I noted in my Preface, "Finding funds for this project was not easy." That, in fact, was an understatement. My acknowledgements included thanks to a host of Australian private and public bodies, but also to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, one of the few in the United States concerned to advance scholarship about a society that seemed remote and inconsequential to most Americans. The issue, writ-

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ten overwhelmingly by Australians, however impressive, did not lead American publishers to vie for the right to publish it as a book in the United States. The book version of the issue, published in Australia and the United Kingdom by Angus and Robertson, became a best-seller "down under"; it stirred only limited interest in the United States and never found an American publisher.

That experience, like so many others, told those who directed the Journal's affairs what they already knew: that certain subjects—those that figured largely in American public debates—could be expected to resonate for many in the country and that others would rouse less interest. A journal that was required to show a profit, a purely commercial enterprise, would of necessity choose to treat only those subjects that were potentially profitable. *Dædalus*, in this as in so many other things, was privileged; able to concern itself with public-policy issues that would be read avidly by substantial numbers and that would quickly find commercial and other publishers competing for the book versions, it was in a position also to deal with all manner of other subjects that could not possibly command this sort of appeal.

The substantial achievements of *Dædalus* in the area of arms control made it the reasonable vehicle to consider President Reagan's so-called Strategic Defense Initiative. "Star Wars" figured very largely at that time in public discussion, and an in-depth scientific consideration of the question seemed to be required. The two *Dædalus* issues, "Weapons in Space" volumes I and II, published in the spring and summer of 1985 and quickly converted into a book by W. W. Norton, provided the kinds of expert consideration of questions, technological and scientific, that had become the subject of rhetorical political hyperbole in many quarters. It was the Academy's Committee on International Security Studies, under the able direction of Franklin Long, working closely with a group of younger scholars, including Jeffrey Boutwell and Donald Hafner, that made these volumes worthy companions to the one issued decades earlier on arms control. Again, it was the Carnegie Corporation, so active at the time in supporting serious inquiry into both

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domestic and foreign policy issues, that provided the funding that made the study possible.

The Carnegie Corporation, like the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, had helped *Dædalus* from almost its beginnings. It was in no way surprising that Alan Pifer of the Carnegie Corporation, like McGeorge Bundy and John Knowles, should actually be responsible for causing a specific issue to be published. "The Aging Society," which owed its existence wholly to a study inaugurated by Pifer, was entirely a product of his imagination and industry. Scarcely less provocative was the *Dædalus* issue "America's Doctors, Medical Science, Medical Care," published as a testimonial to Dr. Walsh McDermott, a deceased Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences who had done so much to assist *Dædalus* over the years. As I wrote in my Preface:

> A principal merit of this issue, then, is that while it seeks to be informative about medicine in the past, it avoids nostalgia and sentimentality; while it is neither negative nor fearful about the present, there is an appropriate tentativeness in predicting what the future may hold. If no one is prepared to argue that hospitals are likely to go the way of America's nineteenth-century smokestack industries, all recognize that the medicine and health care familiar to those alive in the 1960s are not likely to exist in those forms in the year 2000. If ambulatory care and self-care continue to grow at anything like their present rate, if the private physician, as he was once known, becomes a virtually extinct species, the medical profession will change, dramatically. This, independent of major new breakthroughs in medical science and technology and in the treatment of disease, or in the introduction of new types of surgery, carries the promise of greater longevity and better health for substantial numbers. It does not necessarily carry an equivalent promise for those who remain economically disadvantaged. Nor does it guarantee that we will speak less frequently with "forked tongues" about health and illness in the twenty-first century than we have in the twentieth.

More than half a decade before a President of the United States tried and failed to introduce major health-care reform and scarcely acknowledged why he had not succeeded in his effort, I wrote:

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> If this *Dædalus* issue is read only as a retrospective statement on what has happened in the last fifty years, its significance will be lost. There is good reason to believe that the biological revolution, so much discussed today, will indeed have the most far-reaching consequences for medicine and health care. The laboratory successes are too important to be ignored. They must not, however, be seen as existing independently of a social order that incites them, sustains them, and must ultimately determine how they are used, and for whose benefit. The most difficult medical problems remain to be resolved. They are not the ones that preoccupy those who think only in terms of gross public and private expenditures for health care. They have to do with how the medical "revolution" of the last half century is maintained, not only to prolong life, but to make life better. The provision of care that is both humane and reasonable, that avoids some of the more glaring inequities and injustices of the present system, has to be given high priority. Finally the morale of those in the "healing" professions needs to be considered. Why are so many disenchanted? Would a more imaginative and articulated concern with the potentialities of medical science and medical care do anything to restore these professions in their self-esteem, so that the nation's health agenda would no longer be dominated by an interest in simply resolving what are incontestably complex economic problems?

The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, through its President, Dr. David Rogers, was owed a great debt for making the issue possible; Dr. Rogers and Dr. Eric Cassell had recognized its potential.

With "Learning About Women: Gender, Politics, and Power," the Fall 1987 issue, *Dædalus* provided something of a record of what had happened in the more than two decades since its publication of "The Woman in America" to create new scholarship on the subject, new understanding of its complexities. With the study of gender—a term still infrequently used in the early 1960s—as with many other such subjects, the earlier work was substantially less theoretical. New discussions had been obviously opened up as a result of new researches. Jill Conway, Susan Bourque, and Joan Scott, who acted as Guest Editors of the issue, assembled a group of essays that suggested how much scholarship on the issue of gender had changed in the last decade and a half. While the earlier issue had included

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women like Esther Peterson—known to be influential in government, serving as the Assistant Secretary of Labor, Director of the Women's Bureau, and Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, having served also on the President's Commission on the Status of Women, chaired by Eleanor Roosevelt and created by President Kennedy "to develop plans for advancing the full partnership of men and women in our national life"—there were no authors with such prestigious public positions in the 1987 issue. It was very intentionally an issue that emphasized scholarship, that considered how the field of gender studies was developing and the kinds of questions that were being posed.

In a very real sense, this issue—like the one that followed, "Artificial Intelligence"—expressed facts about the American intellectual and political scene that were too little considered at the time. During the administrations of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Carter, significant numbers of Academy Fellows served both in Washington and abroad, and it was possible to believe that issues of *Dædalus* could have a substantial effect on public policy. It was more difficult to believe this in the years when Ronald Reagan sat in the White House. In these circumstances, it became more reasonable for the Journal to address itself to nonpolitical issues of a kind that would have interest for the intellectual community. That the grant for the artificial intelligence study came from the Los Alamos National Laboratory, and that the Academy's President, Herman Feshbach, took an active interest in the project, helping both to launch and to sustain it, suggested that the traditions initiated by earlier presidents, including Hudson Hoagland, Paul Freund, Talcott Parsons, Harvey Brooks, Victor Weisskopf, and Milton Katz, were being maintained. *Dædalus,* the flagship publication of the Academy, was expected to deal with major intellectual questions, and it was taken for granted that disagreements and differences would not be muted. In the case of artificial intelligence, a subject that had enjoyed substantial interest for more than four decades, some believed that AI had provided significant findings about both the mind and human intelligence, but this was by no means the universal opinion. While the greatest part of the issue carried essays by some of the most prominent

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men and women who had contributed to the development of AI as a research field, it concluded with an essay by Hilary Putnam whose title, "Much Ado About Not Very Much," revealed his deep-seated skepticism about the enterprise.

Dædalus, concerned always with dialogue, having previously used its conference transcripts extensively, did so again in its issue on "Religion and Education," which recorded the discussions of a group of men and women gathered at Georgetown University to consider what an issue of the Journal devoted to such a vast theme might treat. Their conversation, animated and frank, seemed a reasonable substitute for the kinds of essays habitually commissioned. The issue featured brief memoranda submitted by individuals not present at the conference, invited to comment on the conference transcript. As with so many other issues of *Dædalus,* controversy was not sought for its own sake, but an issue that reflected the views of so disparate a group, including Father Timothy Healy, who caused the meeting to be called in the first instance, could not fail to be contentious. To differ about how religion ought to be integrated into education, for Father Healy and others who participated in the exercise, was the name of the "academic game." That *Dædalus,* over the decades, had given considerable attention to the matter of religion is obvious from even a rapid perusal of the Journal's issue titles. What is not obvious, however, is how much certain universities had come to support *Dædalus*, making possible publication on issues for which foundation support was not forthcoming. Father Healy, in the late 1980s, helped in a way reminiscent of what James Laney, President of Emory University, had done earlier in the decade, choosing to support the Spring 1980 issue, "Intellect and Imagination," an incomparable collection of essays by humanists, social scientists, and natural scientists. *Dædalus,* in its beginnings very dependent on two Cambridge-based universities, Harvard and M.I.T., had come to rely on a much more varied group of institutions. When universities as different as Georgetown and Emory were prepared to assist the Journal with both financial and intellectual support, when they could imagine celebrating through *Dædalus* publication, the outreach of the Journal was made manifest.

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Because other journals habitually marked their major anniversaries with collections of their representative articles, a decision was made to do the same with *Dædalus*. "Three Decades of *Dædalus*," celebrating thirty years of publication of the Journal as a quarterly, involved the reprinting of selected articles. This ought to have been an easy issue to produce; in fact, it proved to be one of the most difficult. The reason—not surprisingly—is that choices about both inclusion and exclusion had to be somewhat arbitrary; every principle advanced to justify inclusion seemed to call for an issue of a thousand pages or more. In the end, the decisions reached created an issue of 498 pages representative of what the Journal had been in its first decades, redolent of what some of the intellectual and cultural debates of the period had been.

If the *Dædalus* experience with its issues on "Norden" and Australia had already indicated how little Americans were preoccupied with these worlds and how much those who knew those societies best, when asked to write about them, chose to render them in a way not commonly reported in the American mass media, the same was revealed even more emphatically when the Journal came to consider its near neighbor, Canada. "In Search of Canada," the Fall 1988 issue, told a story that was becoming familiar to *Dædalus* readers. Canada, like Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Iceland, and Australia, was in many important ways distinctive, as much so perhaps as those countries acknowledged to be different—Germany, Italy, and Spain, for example—but its distinctiveness was too little remarked on or thought about, particularly by those who lived directly south of the Canadian border. The *Dædalus* issue, supported largely by Canadian institutions and foundations, was eventually converted into a book. If Australia was "terra incognita" to many who lived in the United States, Canada was only slightly less so, though a common border and a vast and expanding international trade guaranteed substantial economic interdependence. That such economic ties could co-exist with a significant ignorance by Americans about Canadian intellectual life and culture was only one of the many revelations of this long and passionate volume, written almost entirely by men and women resident in "the peaceable kingdom."

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"A World to Make: Development in Perspective," the Winter 1989 issue, honored two individuals, David Bell and Hollis Chenery, both present at the creation of a new academic discipline, which after World War II went under the name of "development studies." If earlier distinctions between so-called traditional and modern societies—once thought to describe and differentiate the complex societies of the contemporary world—had been virtually abandoned, Francis Sutton, the Guest Editor of the issue, knew that many still did not accept what he believed to be true: that the forty years since the end of World War II had been "an era of unprecedented advance in the world's well-being." In Sutton's words, "Statistics show that both rich nations and poor have prospered as never before: lives have been lengthened, education and the uses of modern science and technology have spread astoundingly, and new horizons and opportunities have been opened up for vast populations." This did not prevent him from seeing also that the Third World was increasingly emphasizing "the distinctiveness and cultural identity of peoples and nations," insisting that they be allowed "to speak for themselves . . . that the world attend to their views." Both the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation supported the two-day conference whose discussions were only very partially given in this issue. It suggested how much "development studies" had become a discipline quite different from what it had once been.

Given the new health and social crises created by the sudden appearance of AIDS, it seemed only natural that *Dædalus* should consider the subject. *Dædalus,* in its in-depth two-volume study of AIDS, sought to transcend the more conventional treatments of a subject that had gained public attention in the 1980s, which had made some believe they might be witnessing something more than a new and deadly epidemic. The term *pandemic* had come to be increasingly used by those who saw evidences of AIDS affliction in great parts of the world, felling great numbers of men and women whose social habits and medical history came under increasingly close scrutiny. The title of the two issues, "Living with AIDS, Parts I and II," reflected the growing belief that no imminent cure for the malady was likely and that the best that could be hoped for in the immediate future was medication that would prolong life,

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that might in time make AIDS a "chronic" rather than a fatal disease. Given all that *Dædalus* had done in the preceding years with issues touching on medicine and health care, it seemed entirely right for the Journal to turn its attention to AIDS, viewing the matter in its moral, social, economic, political, *and* medical dimensions. Very early in the deliberations that led to the issue, it was realized that the concept of "AIDS control," modeled on that of arms control, was unacceptable, much too restrictive. As I explained in my Preface to the first of the two issues, "Because AIDS will be with us for the rest of our lives—because it is extremely doubtful that the virus itself will soon (or ever) be wholly eradicated—the condition both today and for the foreseeable future is more accurately conveyed by the words *living* with AIDS."

The Editor's thanks went beyond those normally mentioned, all of whom had provided financial support for the issue. An advisory group, originally organized in Cambridge, with members holding more informal meetings in Paris, London, and New York, was specifically cited. It did not seem appropriate to mention the Foreign Honorary Member of the Academy in Paris who asked why Soviet citizens had not been invited to participate in the inquiry. The reason, I explained, was that the Russians denied that AIDS existed in their country. The response of the French Nobel Laureate was immediate: "AIDS is very much a problem there; they should be invited; they would be pleased to be asked." He was mistaken only on the last point. The American Foundation for AIDS Research provided funds that made international travel and consultation possible. The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation provided the support that allowed the Journal to launch the project. The Program in Science, Technology, and Society of M.I.T. gave much appreciated financial assistance, with Kenneth Keniston, its Director, offering invaluable advice. As I noted in my Preface, the issues were intended to honor the late Dr. Robert Morison, who had been a former Vice President of the Academy, a member of the *Dædalus* Board of Editors, a frequent contributor to the Journal, and the guest editor of at least two of its issues. Morison had served many institutions: the Rockefeller Foundation, Cornell University, and M.I.T. He was, in my

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words, a man "devoted to the kinds of research and reflection" characteristic of the AIDS issue.

In the fall of 1989, *Dædalus* made one more effort to introduce its readers to a world still too little known: the teeming society of India. While the countries of Scandinavia, Australia, and Canada might be regarded as small, in population if not in natural and intellectual resources, thereby excusing ignorance of their qualities and histories, it was impossible to use a comparable argument to explain the failure of American scholars to give sufficient attention to India. Yet that was clearly the situation in 1989, and it remains so even today, a decade later. "Another India," planned by a group of distinguished Indian scholars, artists, and intellectuals, was a unique study of the nation founded four decades previously, most often represented in the West as a society of grinding rural and urban poverty, smitten by a population explosion, given to chronic and perpetual disorder. Those who wrote for the issue, while never denying these conditions, sought to draw attention also to others, less advertised in the West, that served to make Indian culture unique; hence the title, "Another India." The issue, of almost four hundred pages, sought to render the "voices" of a people too little studied and too little known. Handsomely produced, with illustrations and texts of uncommon beauty and interest, "Another India" was generously funded by the Ford Foundation. It was well received by those who read *Dædalus*; it never found a commercial publisher or a university press willing to republish it.

THE 1990s

The same could not be said of the next issue of *Dædalus*, the Winter 1990 issue, entitled "Eastern Europe . . . Central Europe . . . Europe." This issue received greater publicity than any previously published by *Dædalus*, and not only because the Soviet Union and the so-called evil empire it had created were clearly in their early stages of disintegration. The attention paid to this issue of *Dædalus* originated even before the issue was published. On January 4, 1990, the *New York Times* devoted its full op-ed page, except for a Mobil advertisement,

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to three related items: excerpts from an article, "To the Stalin Mausoleum," by an anonymous author, known only as Z, scheduled for publication in *Dædalus* later that month; a column by William Safire dealing with the Z excerpts; and an illustration by Eugene Milhaesco, ironic and witty, giving point to the newspaper's headline, "The Soviets' Terminal Crisis." Safire entitled his own essay "The Z Document: 'Mr. X' in our Time," a reference to the famous essay written by George Kennan decades earlier that appeared first in *Foreign Affairs*.

Z prophesied that Gorbachev's days as leader of the Soviet state were probably numbered, that *perestroika* and *glasnost* had not staunched the grave wounds that existed in the Soviet body politic, that politicians in Washington and elsewhere who were still beguiled by Gorbachev mistook his character, his capabilities, his chances of surviving as the head of the Soviet state. Z's essay would never have enjoyed the fame it secured but for its partial republication in the *New York Times*, with Safire enthusiastically endorsing its findings. The most extravagant guesses were made as to Z's identity. Newspapers and news magazines around the world featured the story. *Time, Newsweek,* and *U.S. News & World Report* were mostly interested in who Z might be; the *New York Times,* like the *Boston Globe,* while giving some attention to this question, raised more fundamental issues, as did the foreign press, including *Le Monde, Financial Times,* the *International Herald Tribune*, and any number of others. Among those suspected of being Z, at least for journalists wishing to be sleuths, were Condoleezza Rice, Jack Matlock, and Robert Zoellick, but Marvin Kalb, finding several "awkwardnesses" in the published excerpts, believed it to be either a foreigner or a person "who has come to this country and still has the traces of his or her native tongue in the writing style." As late as January 28, the guessing game was still going on; the *Boston Globe* concluded that Z was not Henry Kissinger, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Alexander Haig, nor Richard Nixon. Charles Gati, an East European specialist, teaching at Union College, concluded that the author was probably Walter Laqueur.

The mystery of authorship was solved only when an intrepid British journalist who suspected it was Martin Malia, the his-

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torian of Russia at the University of California in Berkeley, thought it entirely legitimate to break into Malia's computer to learn whether he had guessed correctly. In all the excitement over the identity of Z, too little attention was given as to why Malia had insisted on anonymity, why he thought the protection of his sources in the Soviet Union, almost certainly known to the Soviet authorities, required him to write under a pseudonym. Some who imagined that *Dædalus* was simply seeking to exploit a good news story—that it was searching for publicity—could not credit so simple an explanation. For those journalists looking for a "scoop," discovering Z's identity was much more important than following his argument, and few expended great effort in supporting or refuting it. In time, Malia's prophecies proved correct, but this had little interest for those who saw themselves as "investigative reporters," the sleuths of the twentieth century.

Not the least of the accomplishments of this much-discussed *Dædalus* issue was that it brought together scholars from Eastern Europe, Western Europe, and the United States to consider together a world where censorship and travel restrictions determined in considerable part the kinds of information available to those who lived abroad, who had only limited access to these communist-dominated societies. The essay by Bronisław Geremek, like that of other Central and Eastern Europeans, was immensely important, suggesting what the contributions of those who knew the Soviet system intimately from the inside, and who had chosen to resist it, might be. Geremek, a medieval historian who had become a leading figure in the Solidarity movement and is today Poland's Foreign Minister, reflected on why Poland rebelled continuously against Soviet control—in 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976, and 1980—while there had been only a single rebellion in Hungary, in 1956, and but one in Czechoslovakia, in 1968. For Geremek, the differing legacies of World War II in these states were absolutely crucial in determining how Soviet domination was experienced, tolerated, or rejected. As the issue suggested, scholars were in a position to write about the communist world as journalists were rarely able to do. In that bright day when it seemed that a new generation of

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Eastern European humanists and social scientists—no longer forced to live in silence or in exile—would soon be making their mark, enthusiasm for the issue was very great. Z's essay, in addition to providing significant income to the Journal from the many newspapers and magazines that asked permission to reprint it, had another good effect: it emboldened *Dædalus* to launch other projects unlikely to receive comparable publicity but no less novel.

In a small planning conference convened by *Dædalus* at Oriel College, Oxford, where a number of those who had written for the Journal in the past, including Anthony Smith, Fabio Luca Cavazza, and Arne Ruth, reflected on what the news media would choose to treat now that there was no longer an American-Soviet rivalry to write about, there was general agreement that "investigative reporting" and "scandal" were likely to figure even more prominently. Quite reasonably, questions were raised as to what *Dædalus* ought to be concerned with, if indeed the "Cold War" was finally over and if other kinds of international and national issues would necessarily be preoccupying. The presence of authors from Sweden, Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States may have influenced the discussion—all agreed that *Dædalus* would do well to explore more thoroughly those regions of the world previously neglected, including Japan and China, and that more attention ought to be given to technological changes of every kind, but particularly those that gave promise of a new communications revolution. The daily newspaper, in its early-twentieth-century form, while clearly not yet obsolescent, was certainly not thriving; the same could be said of the weekly magazine. If television and computers were increasingly important as vehicles of information, what kinds would they choose principally to disseminate, and what would this mean for a journal like *Dædalus* in the age of "information overload"?

With "Literacy in America," the Spring 1990 issue, *Dædalus* followed closely the tradition established almost a decade earlier with its essays on scientific literacy. Given the high levels of illiteracy (by almost any calculus) in the United States, the question of causes and remedies was necessarily preoccupying. While many in the country ascribed what was deemed to be the

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growing educational crisis to a collapse in values, traditions, and morals—and while Republicans in and around the White House and Congress were more than ready to attribute the nation's ills to television, drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, and the like—those who wrote for this issue, including, among others, Lauren Resnick, Daniel Resnick, William Damon, Howard Gardner, Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, John Ogbu, and Leon Botstein, knew that a more serious study of the nation's political, social, and cultural institutions was called for. To find fault with America's schools without considering the intellectual climate of the society, without giving attention to the economic and racial plight of millions, was unreasonable. Nothing would be achieved by so narrow a focus.

"Showa: The Japan of Hirohito" appeared in the summer of 1990. It, quite as much as any other *Dædalus* issue, suggested the new kinds of outreach that the Journal was aspiring to. Japan had figured very little in earlier issues; Japanese scholars were only occasionally invited to attend planning conferences, and for one reason only: airfares from Japan to either the United States or Europe were exceedingly high. *Dædalus* rarely enjoyed the financial resources that allowed it to invite substantial numbers of Japanese. This is not to suggest that no Japanese were asked, only that their number was limited. Once the decision was made to devote an issue to Showa, plans went forward for a new kind of collaboration, with *Asteion,* a Japanese quarterly. It was agreed that the issue would be published in English, in *Dædalus,* and in Japanese, simultaneously, in *Asteion.* A grant from the Suntory Foundation made all this possible. Those who were most favorably impressed by the issue appreciated its historical dimensions, recognizing that it rendered "another Japan," very different from the economic powerhouse generally represented by the mass media. The 1920s and 1930s, like World War II itself, were given wholly new portrayals, thereby altering many of the commonly-held opinions about how Japan had evolved since 1945. As one astute critic noted, the articles by Japanese authors were significantly different in tone and method from those written by authors from outside Japan. Scholarship, even in the late twentieth century, retained certain distinctive national traits. The

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idea for the issue originated with Daniel Bell; he, Carol Gluck, and Herbert Passin are to be thanked for what they did to make the study possible. Our debt to the Japanese authors, particularly to Masakazu Yamazaki, is no less considerable.

"Risk," the Fall 1990 issue, introduced an idea that was to have greater resonance as the decade proceeded. Readers and members of the Board of Editors asked increasingly for a consideration of certain key "concepts" that for one reason or other had become crucial in many fields. "Risk" certainly qualified, as Mary Douglas, writing about its having "acquired a new prominence," made very explicit. The fact that the issue contained essays on subjects as different as "Theories of Risk Perception: Who Fears What and Why" by Aaron Wildavsky and Karl Dake, "The Politics of Risk" by Harvey Sapolsky, "The Cigarette, Risk, and American Culture" by Allan Brandt, and "Management of Risk in Sexually Transmitted Diseases" by Roy Widdus, Andre Meheus, and Roger Short—to cite only a few of the essays—suggests how broad was the attempt to consider the new preoccupation with risk, not least in the United States. What Sheila Jasanoff wrote about "American Exceptionalism and the Political Acknowledgment of Risk," like the essay by George Priest, "The New Legal Structure of Risk Control," gave concrete meaning to the fact that "risk" had become a subject of the greatest importance for politics and law. The idea for the issue came from Edward Burger, Jr., of Georgetown University, who opened his controversial essay on "Health as a Surrogate for the Environment" with the arresting words:

> A series of political actions has been taken under the wrong banner. Much environmental legislation and regulation has been enacted under the promise of protection, not of the physical environment, but of human health. The threat to health has been used over the past two decades for "selling" environmental legislation and regulation, often in ways or to a degree that contradicts scientific evidence. Health has been used as a surrogate; the promoters of political action—legislators, environmentalists, and professional consumerists—have been right for the wrong reasons.

The willingness of the National Cancer Institute, the National Institutes of Health, the U.S. Department of Energy, the Risk

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Science Institute, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency to provide funds for this issue suggests how critical it had become.

If Japan had not figured greatly in *Dædalus* in its first three decades, the same could be said of China. Again, the reason was singular: bringing Chinese scholars to the United States or Europe was both difficult and expensive. However, given the extraordinary expansion of Chinese studies outside China, in the United States but also in Australia, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, there were opportunities to explore this new scholarship in ways that would not have been possible in an earlier period. "The Living Tree: The Changing Meaning of Being Chinese Today," the Spring 1991 issue, treated a subject of great interest to many, and not only to those who were part of the vast diaspora that had sent millions of Chinese to many parts of the world. How these Chinese comported themselves in the countries they emigrated to, how they related to their relatives (and ancestors) in mainland China, how they were influenced by the communist revolution in China, and how they in turn influenced China were but a few of the many subjects treated in the issue. Wang Gungwu, vice-chancellor at the University of Hong Kong, writing an essay entitled "Among Non-Chinese," suggested the importance of the subject:

> Being Chinese in China is itself a complex problem, but being Chinese outside China has several additional complicating features. It can mean the effort to reproduce what is remembered of Chinese ways and then transmitting them, however imperfectly, to descendants. It can mean striving to keep up with developments in China through relatives at home, or by reading news of the fortunes of the empire or the republic. Many mirrors, some less distorting than others, intervene when a Chinese living abroad constructs his composite image of what it means to be Chinese. Sooner or later, it is impossible to avoid asking what being among foreigners does to one's perception of being Chinese. To look different, to speak differently, to be regarded as Chinese by others, leads naturally to an awareness of what is or is not Chinese. That awareness may be simple or superficial; it may also be deliberate, even assertive. It can be diminished by distance, by the length of time that one is away from China; it can be enhanced and deepened by regular contact with China and with highly cultivated Chinese.

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For most Chinese abroad, it is the non-Chinese environment that impinges on their lives most directly. How that helps to define their Chineseness is an important starting-point.

This issue, which owed so much to the support of the East-West Center in Hawaii, directed by Victor Li, originated in proposals made by Tu Wei-ming in Cambridge. It reflected scholarship of a very high order that would not have been common anywhere in the world half a century earlier. The same may be said of the issue that followed, "Religion and Politics," which grew out of a project on church and state directed by John Wilson at Princeton University. In a study in which Islam figured as much as Christianity, where place was given also to a close consideration of Buddhism and other religions, where cultural and religious developments in Africa, Latin America, and Asia made those in Europe seem almost secondary, one could see a perceptible change of emphasis in *Dædalus* from issues characteristic of the 1960s. Still, Europe figured, not least in James Beckford's article on "Politics and Religion in England and Wales," and even more in "Church and State in Spain from the Civil War to the Return of Democracy" by Juan Linz. In showing how much Catholicism in Spain had changed in the twentieth century and how the church accommodated itself to some of these changes, Linz emphasized the importance of social, economic, and cultural factors. They, much more than massive political upheaval, had altered Catholic Spain from what it had been before Franco came to power, and from what it had become since his death.

"A New Era in Computation," the Winter 1992 issue, explored in considerable depth the new technologies then being developed in the ever-changing world of computers. The issue owed an enormous amount to Gian-Carlo Rota, whose recent and unexpected death is a great blow to the *Dædalus* Board of Editors on which he served so enthusiastically for many years. Rota, together with a small group of colleagues in an organization called Global Pursuits, persuaded Jaqui Safra to finance a study that would be at once a history of the computer industry and a consideration of where it might be tending. Given the interests of the group, "parallel computing"—a technology in only its very early stages—figured very largely in the issue.

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Neither W. Daniel Hillis nor any of his colleagues who explained what this new machine might accomplish anticipated its early demise. It was impossible for them to foresee that the U.S. Defense Department would lose interest in the potentialities of that technology, and, in the absence of any other principal customer for it, that the interest in "parallel processing" would wane. With computing, as with much else that involved the engineering of that day, obsolescence came with striking rapidity, and this made all the more imperative the United States "getting its own economic-technological house in order," recognizing how much its "distinctly inferior elementary and middle school educational system" needed to be strengthened, as Jacob Schwartz insisted. Japan, at that moment, seemed incomparably powerful as an engine of economic growth, but Schwartz, with remarkable prescience, wrote: "Once the present competitive decline of the United States is arrested, the economic strengths of the United States and Japan ought to shift to a ratio reflecting the sizes of their respective populations; in addition, some significant advantage should accrue to the United States in view of its much greater land mass and resource endowment." Schwartz, looking to that future, went on to say:

> It is therefore easy to imagine a scenario in which successful steps on the part of the United States to reverse its present competitive decline could transmit fearsome shocks to the Japanese economy. In such a case the forces of enraged nationalism might mount with substantially greater rapidity in Japan (whose citizens see their nation as having *chosen* the Merchant Way), than is seen as possible in even the grimmest national scenario for the United States (whose citizens believe that their nation *is* democratic). To obviate devastating developments of this kind, a more successful United States might find it appropriate to give Japan binding guarantees against its worst national fears, for example, by committing not only to Japan's defense, but by committing to share resources of food, oil, and minerals in case of major economic difficulty.

An issue on computers that contained essays with recommendations of this sort showed that even if the predictions on the future of specific computer systems might be mistaken—too utopian in any number of dimensions—the concern with tech-

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nologies was legitimate, calling for broad vision and imagination. The Thinking Machines Corporation, of which Daniel Hillis was Chief Scientist, might go out of business, as it did, but his fundamental perception was correct when he wrote in his *Dædalus* essay: "Profound change is inherently hard to think about. What is almost certainly true is that the future is not just a simple extrapolation of what we know today."

Given the attention awarded *Dædalus* because of its Z essay, it was impossible for the Journal not to return to the issue of the demise of communism in Central and Eastern Europe. The Spring 1992 issue, "The Exit from Communism," opened with an essay by Frank Manuel, "A Requiem for Karl Marx." Manuel, with his habitual passion, wit, and learning, devised a requiem for Marx that he later converted into a book, as other *Dædalus* authors had done with their own essays. Manuel's closing paragraph, reflecting his views of Marx the individual, his ideas, and his disciples, merits attention. Manuel wrote:

> For the sufferings of Karl Marx the exile, we can feel compassion; for his elaborate theoretical system, benign doubt and perhaps selective approval; for the abominable practices instituted in his name, loathing. A requiem for Marx cannot ignore the iniquities of his offspring—prophets and messiahs must share the blame for the excesses of their followers—but the banner that he unfurled need not be interred with his bones. Even a skeptical utopian like myself can still believe in the worth of the guiding principle: from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs.

The essays in "The Exit from Communism," so various in their interpretations, with major contributions from Anders Åslund, Victor Zaslavsky, Ivo Banac, Jiří Musil, and Erazim Kohák, among many others, carried a prophetic message from the man still regarded by many as the most acute critic of Marxism, Leszek Kolakowski. In his essay, "Amidst Moving Ruins," he began with a paragraph that suggested how quickly events had moved since 1989; he wrote:

> Euphoria is always brief, whatever causes it. The "post-communist" euphoria is over, and the premonitions of imminent dangers are mounting. The monster is dying in its own monstrous way. Shall we see another monster take its place, a series of bloody

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> struggles between its various remnants? How many new countries will emerge from the chaos, and what will they be: democratic, dictatorial, national-fascist, clerical, civilized, barbaric? Will millions of refugees, escaping from famine and war, stampede into Europe? Every day newspapers provide gloomy warnings; many are written by knowledgeable people. The only thing we know for certain: nothing is certain; nothing is impossible.

Why, one may ask, did the Editor decide to call the Summer 1992 issue "Political Pharmacology: Thinking About Drugs"? Would a simpler title—the word *DRUGS* in bold face—not have served to draw more attention to the issue? It might have done so, but it would not have succeeded in rendering one of the principal messages of the issue—the extent to which politics determined how the drug problem was perceived in the United States, and how it was treated. While *Dædalus* was able to enlist men and women prepared to approach the drug issue from many perspectives and with quite different professional interests, those who wrote for the issue knew that certain of their proposed remedies would never gain consent from either Congress or the White House. When Peter Reuter wrote on "The Punitive Trend of American Drug Policy" and Mark Kleiman entitled his essay "Neither Prohibition Nor Legalization: Grudging Toleration in Drug Control Policy," both were arguing in an idiom that found expression also in Ethan Nadelmann's essay "Thinking Seriously About Alternatives to Drug Prohibition." Thomas Szasz was less tolerant of what he heard about drug control from politicians. He introduced his essay with the words of Will Rogers: "Everything has a slogan, and, of all the bunk in America, the slogan is the champ. . . . Congress even has slogans: 'Why sleep at home, when you can sleep in Congress?'; 'Be a politician—no training necessary!'" Szasz commented: "I would add that, of all the bunk in America, our champion slogans are about drugs and medical ethics. . . ." Mathea Falco, in an essay entitled "Foreign Drugs, Foreign Wars," said: "Reagan believed America's drug problems stemmed from an overly tolerant approach toward drug users, drug dealers, and drug-producing countries." President Bush, in her view, simply pursued the policy set by his predecessor, and funding for the war on drugs escalated from $4.5 billion in 1988

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to $12 billion in 1992. With the Cold War over, Falco wrote, "the Bush administration cast about for new missions for the U.S. military." It was significant, in her mind, that military spending for drug interdiction had been $5 million in 1982 and ten years later had risen to $1.27 billion. Though she knew that the foreign drug wars were not succeeding, others who wrote for the issue recognized that their proposals for new medical and health measures to curb the problem were unlikely to defeat those who wished to rely only on the criminal law. All agreed with David Lewis that a "more informed and open-minded dialogue on our national drug policy is called for." Global Pursuits, which had supported the *Dædalus* issue on "A New Era in Computation," also provided the funds for this issue.

It is curious, certainly, that in the fall of 1992, at a time when there were so many reasons to celebrate the so-called triumphs of democracy following on the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the transformation of so many of the states of Eastern and Central Europe, followed by the quick and easy victory of the United States and its allies over a "rogue state," Iraq, the Journal should have published an issue with the ambiguous title "Immobile Democracy?" What could have led *Dædalus* to publish an issue that thought the world to be "neither as self-confident nor as uniform as some imagine, and not nearly as secure as politicians pretend"? I suggested that the world "waits to be released from an antiquated rhetoric," and that "new thinking is the political imperative of our time, in the United States certainly, but also in the states of the European Community and Japan." Those who wrote for the issue, including Chalmers Johnson, Ezra Vogel, Merry White, Tony Judt, and Christoph Bertram, from their quite different perspectives, seemed to be suggesting that the democracies needed to become less immobile. Reading their essays, I was led to remark in my Preface:

> . . . all the democracies today, burdened by memories of the past, unwilling for political reasons to confront the divisive realities of the present, find it difficult to project themselves into the future. Individually and collectively "idling," they give the appearance of trapped vehicles on a crowded motorway. When they start up

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again, as they inevitably must, it is not obvious in what directions they will move.

It was not only a stagnating American economy, characterized by major productivity problems and exacerbated by federal budgetary deficits and difficulties with balance of payments, that created the incentive for such an issue. Chalmers Johnson wrote that Japan had failed to become a "normal" country but was still "an economic giant and a political pygmy" and that the United States had been "warped by its Cold War, superpower role," which it would do well to abandon. Tony Judt's judgment on Europe was even more severe. Believing that the new Europe was being built on "shifting sands," he saw nothing coming out of this effort "remotely resembling continental political homogeneity and supranational stability." For Judt, myth and memory, too frequently neglected by those who thought only in economic terms, were more consequential barriers to unity than many both in Eastern and Western Europe were prepared to acknowledge. The issue's messages, while not uniformly pessimistic—Diana Pinto, for example, wrote eloquently about what she imagined the new relations between the United States and Europe would be, with the United States losing much of its earlier post–World War II influence—were not on the whole intended to gladden the hearts of those who had once held such high expectations of the world that would follow from the demise of the Soviet Union.

"America's Childhood," the Winter 1993 issue, may be read as a response to the report "Beyond Rhetoric: A New American Agenda for Children and Families," issued by the National Commission on Children, chaired by Sen. John D. Rockefeller IV. The *Dædalus* issue was intended to refute the rhetoric of a national commission able to say in its Executive Summary, "Most American children are healthy, happy, and secure. They belong to warm, loving families. For them today is filled with the joys of childhood—growing, exploring, learning, and dreaming—and tomorrow is full of hope and promise. These children will become the competent and caring parents, employees, and community leaders upon whom America's future depends." Such an idyllic portrayal scarcely described the conditions that

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the *Dædalus* authors discovered either in America's schools or in its families. The inadequacies of U.S. federal policies in respect to the health and welfare of children were universally known, and the individual states were unable to compensate for these lacks. Martha Minow and Richard Weissbourd, in their initial essay in the volume, explored some of the initiatives that needed to be taken to change the situation and expressed the hope that future historians might "very well point to the early 1990s as a period in which a new cycle of reform for children began." Others in the issue were less sanguine. David Cohen and S. G. Grant, for example, looking at the elementary schools of the country, acknowledged the importance of much that was being attempted but described the prospects for further change as "mixed." Knowing how difficult it would be to achieve really fundamental change, they wrote: "Educators and reformers are increasingly committed to ambitious ideas about instruction, but they work in an appallingly unequal society, in which the incentives for thoughtful instruction are mixed at best, with a weakly educated teaching force during a period of shrinking budgets and increasing social distress."

"China in Transformation," the Spring 1993 issue, was the second time that *Dædalus* sought specifically to concern itself with China, a country still little known in the West. It would have been almost inconceivable for the Journal to have published such a collection of essays in the first decades of its existence. While studies of China had developed conspicuously during World War II when a number of Americans and British learned the language, not until the 1960s did a new generation of scholars emerge in any number, fully commanding the Chinese language, able to view the country critically. So long as China was governed by Mao, most Western scholars saw the society from abroad, often spending intermittent periods in Taiwan, Hong Kong, or Singapore, seriously handicapped in what they were able to observe from that distance. While many of the same kinds of intelligence sources existed for the study of China as for the Soviet Union, these could never substitute for the scholarship that the best "China hands" aspired to. When one compares this issue with what *Dædalus* published on Japan in "Showa," it is obvious that the kind of dialogue that was

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possible between Japanese intellectuals resident in Japan and Western intellectuals could not take place with what remained of a once-potent Chinese intelligentsia largely decimated by the revolutionary policies of Mao. Among the reasons "China in Transformation" resonated for many in the West is that it raised a question too rarely posed: what had the Chinese revolution, so violent for so long, been able to accomplish in eradicating traditional Chinese values and beliefs? Had the revolution in effect created a *tabula rasa,* with Marxism and communism for all practical purposes eliminating the Confucian civilization that had existed for centuries? While newspapers in the West were beginning to give attention to economic developments in Communist China, few thought it necessary to dwell on major intellectual and cultural transformations. With this issue, as with the earlier one, a debt was owed the East-West Center in Hawaii for financial support and to Tu Wei-ming and his associates in the East-West Center's Dialogue of Civilizations Project in the Program for Cultural Studies.

"Reconstructing Nations and States," the Summer 1993 issue, supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Pew Charitable Trusts, started its life as a study of modern nationalism. Very quickly it developed into an inquiry into the future of the nation-state, into all that "globalization" was doing to transform states, and into whether greater attention did not have to be given to regionalism, in so many ways a denial of the fashionable idea of the "global village." In Europe, the theme of "Europeanization" figured, but this was not a *Dædalus* issue concerned only or principally with European nation-states like France, Germany, and Spain. Its originality derived in part from what the late Ernest Gellner characterized as the "transformation of the intellectual-political landscape," brought on by, in his words, "the total, astonishing, and almost completely unforeseen collapse of the Soviet Union." If that event was the cosmic happening of the day, its influence did not extend everywhere. Arab nationalism, like that of India and China, seemed to move in response to quite other stimuli. Tom Nairn, arguing for a breakup of the United Kingdom, saw a new "internationalism" coming and deplored not at all what he described as the end of the earlier "standoff of imperiums."

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In his view, as in that of others, the age of the great and all-powerful state was at an end. Eric Hobsbawm, Nairn reminded his readers, had concluded as early as 1977 that the United Nations "is soon likely to consist of the late twentieth-century equivalents of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Schwarzburg-Sonderhausen." The authors differed profoundly on what they thought the future of the nation-state might be; not all would have accepted Michael Mann's view that

> For now and for the foreseeable future, ad hoc associations of capitalism and nation-states stride dominant across most of the world, especially the most advanced ones. In the less developed world, states are varied. Some are in crisis, and a few are near death. Their crisis is not of postmodernity but of insufficient modernity. Where countries lack an effective nation-state, they would dearly like to have one. The nation-state is not hegemonic, nor is it obsolete, either as a reality or as an ideal.

If scholars differed very substantially about the vitality of nation-states, few would have questioned the continued importance and success of one American institution: its modern research university. Yet as the Fall 1993 *Dædalus* issue demonstrated, even that institution, so apparently stable, was confronting problems and dilemmas of a serious kind. While Jonathan Cole, like other of his colleagues, had little use for those who regularly prophesied the decline of American higher education, he knew that choices had to be made and that the ambivalences Neil Smelser wrote about, questions that Americans asked about issues like cultural diversity and multiculturalism, were real and had to be confronted. If Smelser was correct in his belief that "the political forces of the nation are such that the march of diversification in universities is becoming and will become an established historical fact," then the research universities could not fail to change, could never again be what they had been in the time of Talcott Parsons, Smelser's teacher, who had been so active during his time as President of the Academy from 1967 to 1971 and for a time thereafter. The *Dædalus* issue on America's research universities raised questions somewhat analogous to those that accompanied any serious consideration of how much the decline and fall of the Soviet Union affected other more

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stable institutions. America's research universities were incontestably strong, but Stephen Stigler, knowing their problems to be serious, asked whether the negative judgments on their prospects were at all reasonable. In his view, they were not. John Searle was less optimistic. While he did not wish his remarks to be misunderstood and wrote admiringly of the "many hard-working men and women engaged in solid traditional scholarship" in certain of the new disciplines, who were, in his words, "committed to the highest standards of truth and objectivity as traditionally conceived," he could not fail to take note of the "significant number of colleagues who do not share these values." For Searle, the rejection by certain academics of what he called the Western Rationalistic Tradition was a very serious matter. The *Dædalus* issue, supported by grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, and the J. S. McDonnell Foundation, raised questions that would continue to resonate in the Journal's pages throughout the 1990s.

In Winter 1994, *Dædalus* continued what had already become something of a tradition—an in-depth study of a single society. The title "Germany in Transition" was wholly appropriate to a nation that had shed its post–World War II frontiers to become one of the largest and most prosperous states of Europe. If there had ever been an excuse for "triumphalism" about what the Federal Republic had managed to achieve in the decades since 1949, that sentiment ought to have survived at least until 1994. In fact, it was already substantially attenuated. The *Dædalus* issue, written almost wholly by men and women living in the new united Germany, was distinctive for its sober and careful analysis of the many problems the country confronted. The issue could never be construed as a "puff" for the new Germany. Germans were invited from both the former German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic. Believing that there would be an advantage in not holding the planning meeting in any of the conventional Federal Republic sites, which would only emphasize the substantial economic differences between the two societies—one very rich, the other relatively poor—the group met at Coppet in Switzerland, the eighteenth-century home of Madame de Staël. Substantial support

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for the issue came from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic, which offered financial assistance without intending to intervene in any way in the editorial management of the study. Additional support came from the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, the Robert Bosch Stiftung, the Korber-Stiftung, and the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Germany was still a country that commanded very great interest in the United States, and it is no surprise that several publishers vied for the right to reprint the issue as a book. This had not happened with the *Dædalus* issues on "Norden," India, Australia, or Canada. Those responsible for the Journal wondered again whether *Dædalus* did not have two quite different obligations: to publish on matters that did not command general interest but were known to be important, and also to publish on others, no less preoccupying, that obviously engaged the interest of many different publics. Because *Dædalus* was not a commercial enterprise, it was able to do both.

"Europe Through A Glass Darkly," the Spring 1994 issue, could be conceived as the successor of the issue "A New Europe?" published three decades previously. The differences between the two eras could not have been greater. Stanley Hoffmann, writing on "Europe's Identity Crisis Revisited," spoke of "disjunctions" that Europe seemed quite unable to overcome—"between politics, which is still national, and economics, national no longer; between economics, which is becoming common, and diplomacy and defense, where the Union still falters; between a settled West and an unsettled East." His final words were particularly disconcerting; he wrote: "In 1964 I wondered about Western Europe's spiritual vitality. I still do." Fabio Cavazza, another of the original authors in the 1964 issue, writing with Carlo Pelanda about "Maastricht: Before, During, After," while somewhat less pessimistic, hoped that the nation-states of Europe would become European states, able to understand the political, social, and economic situations in which they found themselves. Concerned that these states, led by men burdened by too great responsibilities, engrossed by their own grave domestic problems, would fail to understand the opportunities offered by a functioning European Union, which was something other than a gigantic nation-state, led

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them to be less than wholly sanguine about its future prospects. Steven Pavlowitch, in his essay "Who is 'Balkanizing' Whom? The Misunderstandings Between the Debris of Yugoslavia and an Unprepared West," found little to be optimistic about. He concluded with chilling words, saying:

> If Western Europe were still capable of teaching Eastern Europe to ponder on Montesquieu's thought: "Je suis homme avant d'etre français . . . parce que je suis necessairement homme, et que je ne suis français que par hasard," even Serbs and Croats would eventually develop into nations rather than regress into tribes. Is Western Europe willing to do it? Can it? Does it think it worthwhile? And does America still think it worthwhile to help? Does it still have a foreign policy, or a vision?

All this was written as the Republicans prepared to nominate the architect of the Gulf War victory for a second term as President, with an unknown from Arkansas emerging as the likely Democratic nominee.

That such an issue should be followed by one called "After Communism: What?" was in no way surprising. If Z had prophesied the demise of Gorbachev and other *Dædalus* authors had sought to understand the complex happenings since, it became increasingly important for the Journal to seek contributions from Eastern and Central European scholars, uniting them with essays from experts in Western Europe and the United States. Given the traditions of the Journal, most recently exemplified in its issue on Germany, "After Communism: What?" ought to have been written overwhelmingly by scholars from the area that had so recently emancipated itself from communism. This proved to be an impossible objective to achieve. Though the events of 1989 were fast receding, Tony Judt may have understood the situation when he wrote of "the crisis of the European intellectuals," caused by their feeling themselves redundant. Judt said:

> In Eastern Europe their political influence is at a low ebb; they are perceived as culturally marginal and an embarrassment, a reminder of a time when most of their audience did not wish to associate with them and an annoying prolongation of the dissident conscience with which most Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks, Poles,

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> and others had, and still have, little in common. In their marginality they speak neither for the state nor to it. They have lost their role as self-appointed spokesmen for imprisoned peoples, the only role they ever truly had in Central and Eastern Europe, and in societies where there is no integrated cosmopolitan subcommunity they are adrift.

Lest some read Judt as saying that only the European intellectuals of the so-called new democracies were marginalized, lacking in influence and conviction, he made the same complaint of those in Western Europe. Clearly, the mood of the mid-1990s bore scant resemblance to that common in the mid-1960s.

With "Health and Wealth," the Fall 1994 issue, *Dædalus* returned to a theme that had frequently engaged its interest: health care as a continuing problem of contemporary societies. Where earlier issues had dwelled principally on the problem in its American dimensions, this issue, inspired by Dr. Fraser Mustard, President of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research, sought to indicate what the relations were between economic development, prosperity, and health. His concern was nothing less than the determinants of health and economic growth and how the two might be related. This was not a perspective commonly taken, and the readiness of the Honda Foundation to join with the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research in supporting this cross-cultural study told a great deal about the willingness of institutions in both Japan and Canada to help generate interest in a study that dealt as much with the United States and the United Kingdom as with their own countries. Robert Evans expressed the motif of the issue in a section of his essay provocatively entitled "The Determinants of Health: More Ways to Skin a Cat," in which he said:

> The understanding that health, of both individuals and populations, is powerfully influenced by factors other than health care is ancient. It has been somewhat eclipsed, over the past century, by the extraordinary effect of the application of science and technology to medicine. But it is now enjoying a considerable resurgence, not only because of the development of a more measured and critical view of the contributions of health care but also because of the research findings on the determinants of health. Some of these are coming from sociology and psychology, always a bit skeptical

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of the claims of "mainstream" medicine. But surprisingly supportive evidence is also emerging from epidemiology, molecular biology, neurophysiology, and even primatology.

In its Winter 1995 issue, *Dædalus* celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of what may still be the single most important study ever published on race relations in the United States. "An American Dilemma Revisited" was more than an expression of gratitude for the work of an exceptionally able Swedish social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal, who had done so much to advance the study of race relations. The issue honored those who had originally supported Myrdal in his fundamental researches, the officers of the Carnegie Corporation, who had been so helpful in later periods to *Dædalus*. A conference held at Morehouse College, in the Morehouse Research Institute, presided over by Obie Clayton, brought together several generations of black and white scholars whose concern was less to laud Myrdal's seminal work than to consider all that had happened in the intervening half-century to change the conditions that had once obtained in the United States. Brown University, through the intervention of its President, Vartan Gregorian, placing a high value on the principles Myrdal had supported, assisted in financing the venture at a moment when the funding for the *Dædalus* issue seemed insufficient. The Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, Russell Sage Foundation, Foundation for Child Development, Coca-Cola Company, and AT&T Foundation all provided support. While many of these individual grants were small, the willingness of so many bodies to contribute both to the Morehouse conference and to the *Dædalus* publication confirmed the truth of what Sissela Bok wrote in her introduction to the issue:

> The rationalism and moralism which is the driving force behind social study, whether we admit it or not, is the faith that institutions can be improved and strengthened and that people are good enough to live a happier life. With all we know today, there should be the possibility to build a nation and a world where people's great propensity for sympathy and cooperation would not be so thwarted. To find the practical formulas for this never-ending reconstruction of society is the supreme task of social science.

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Through the generosity of the Pew Charitable Trusts, *Dædalus* was able in the spring and summer of 1995 to assemble Japanese, British, French, Swedish, Canadian, and American authors to reflect together on the future of the world international order. The first of the two issues entitled "What Future for the State?" was as impressive for the societies it treated—Turkey, Hungary, Japan, Germany, Italy, the United Kingdom, Serbia, Croatia, France, Ukraine, and the United States, among others—as for its close appraisal of how economic, military, and political developments were transforming earlier opinion about the nature of capitalism, the hazards of nuclear weaponry, and the prospects of democratic government. Even the titles of a few of the essays may suggest both the range and the character of the argument: Vincent Cable wrote on "The Diminished Nation-State: A Study in the Loss of Economic Power"; Susan Strange, so well known for her spirited book, *Casino Capitalism*, and whose recent death was so devastating a blow to those who always found her work both provocative and original, entitled her essay "The Defective State"; Vivien Schmidt wrote on "The New World Order Incorporated: The Rise of Business and the Decline of the Nation-State"; and Rogers Brubaker looked at "National Minorities, Nationalizing States, and External Homelands in the New Europe." It was gratifying to be able to publish scholars in so many disciplines, of such different generations and opinions.

"The Quest for World Order," with contributions from Emma Rothschild, Henry Kissinger, Gilles Kepel, Jennifer Widner, David Apter, Göran Rosenberg, John de la Mothe, Paul Dufour, Bogumil Jewsiewicki, and V. Y. Mudimbe showed the same concern to mix the generations, to seek perspectives on world order very different from what had figured in the 1965 *Dædalus* conference at Bellagio on "Conditions of World Order." That the Journal was able to reprint the conference report of that Bellagio meeting, prepared by Stanley Hoffmann, and at least one of the essays inspired by that meeting, "The Anarchical Order of Power" by Raymond Aron, suggests why the world of the 1960s, while indeed distant, was by no means lost. While American journalists in that earlier period had eyes only for Vietnam, scholars knew that other issues were no less impor-

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tant. Aron insisted that the order of power had "always been anarchical and oligarchical: anarchical because of the absence of a monopoly of legitimate violence, oligarchical (or hierarchic) in that, without civil society, rights depend largely on might." In Aron's view, technological civilizations transformed but did not overturn that anarchic order. His opinion, worth recalling, is rendered in a few pithy sentences; he wrote: "Pessimists prophesy the collective suicide of mankind failing a kind of historic mutation such as would be denoted by the renunciation of military sovereignty by states. Optimists believe in peace through fear, in the end of the domination of peoples by peoples, since domination does not pay." Aron refused to decide in favor of either. As he knew, "Mankind has always lived dangerously. The dangers are no longer the same, but they have not disappeared."

"American Education: Still Separate, Still Unequal," the Fall 1995 *Dædalus* issue, reported on a convocation held at the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in which discussion of the reform of K–12 education figured prominently. Many who attended that convocation agreed subsequently to submit memoranda, and these, in some instances significantly revised, were published as contributions to what was expected to be a continuing dialogue on the subject. In this project, support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and the Spencer Foundation made possible the issue's circulation to a very large company, beyond those who normally subscribed to the Journal. As with so many of the other issues that dealt with educational themes involving elementary and secondary schools, there was no significant consensus about what had to be done. When the late Albert Shanker wrote ". . .it is unconscionable that we are willing to run with virtually everything that is novel or 'promising' in education while refusing to confront and debate the elements that successful school systems have in common," he knew that he was not expressing the common opinion. Nor did he expect all to agree with him when he said: "Romanticism is frequently a characteristic of reformers. Pragmatism would better serve our students and our public schools." These were not views universally subscribed to.

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Dædalus had frequently sought to introduce new subjects—to give them prominence—and it did so again with "Social Suffering," the Winter 1996 issue, which explored the meaning of a term not then in common use. Three Guest Editors—Arthur Kleinman, from the United States, Veena Das, from India, and Margaret Lock, from Canada—collaborated to launch a study intended to be cross-disciplinary, which would link health policy to social policy with both theoretical and empirical components. The Guest Editors, in their joint introduction, expressed the belief that a volume that relied heavily on historical, anthropological, medical, and literary evidence could contribute to a better understanding of phenomena as different as pain, trauma, disappointment, bereavement, and alarm. In their view, and in the opinion of a good number who wrote for the issue, the themes of violence and suffering, as commonly portrayed, scarcely began to describe the complexity of the subject. If the suffering experienced by those tortured and killed during the terrifying years of the Holocaust represented one kind of atrocity, and that experienced by millions of Chinese, living under communist rule, yet another, poverty and disease were the no less constant companions of the many who eked out a miserable existence in many parts of the world. As Paul Farmer, a physician, wrote:

> As the twentieth century draws to a close, the world's poor are the chief victims of structural violence—a violence which has thus far defied the analysis of many seeking to understand the nature and distribution of extreme suffering. Why might this be so? One answer is that the poor are not only more likely to suffer, they are also more likely to have their suffering silenced. . . . The task at hand, if this silence is to be broken, is to identify the forces conspiring to promote suffering, with the understanding that these will be differentially weighted in different settings. In so doing, we stand a chance to discern the *forces motrices* of extreme suffering. A sound analytic purchase on the dynamics and distribution of such affliction is, perhaps, a prerequisite to preventing or, at least, assuaging it. Then, at last, there may be hope of finding a balm in Gilead.

With "Social Suffering," even more than with so many other issues of *Dædalus,* including the issue published on "Risk," the

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Journal was seeking to establish a new field. Acknowledging that something of value could be achieved by joining social scientists and medical practitioners, accepting that China was as legitimate a subject of such study as South Africa, Canada scarcely less so than Japan and India, by giving new insight into atrocities as different as the Holocaust and the "ideological Holocaust" of Maoism, *Dædalus* had an opportunity to do what Arthur Kleinman and Joan Kleinman argued for; they wrote: "Ultimately, we will have to engage the more ominous aspects of globalization, such as the commercialization of suffering, the commodification of experiences of atrocity and abuse, and the pornographic uses of degradation."

"Managing Innovation," a collection of portraits of principal American business entrepreneurs of the twentieth century, grew out of a proposal by Dr. Elkan Blout, then Treasurer of the Academy, that the inventiveness of the century needed to be recorded, and not only for those too young to have knowledge of how corporations like Polaroid or Intel had come into being or what their major contributions had been. Alfred Chandler, Jr., in his Introduction to the issue, described its purpose succinctly when he wrote:

> This volume of *Dædalus* is comprised of a disparate set of essays written by ten business leaders of different backgrounds and different ages. Their birth dates range from 1897 to 1962. The essays vary in their approach, content, and tone. Some deal with the histories of their enterprise; others focus more on the underlying elements of business performance and values. But all have a common core. All ten men built or enlarged highly successful companies—enterprises that brought them substantial personal wealth, increased the competitive strength of their industries, and added to the productivity and growth of the nation's economy.

Whereas those who had written for the 1969 *Dædalus* issue on business were predominantly professors of economics, history, sociology, and political science, those who contributed to this issue were men actively engaged with the businesses they wrote about. Their evidence was revealing, as much for what it told about American science and technology in the twentieth century as for what it said about corporate inventiveness.

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"The Liberation of the Environment," the Summer 1996 issue, was intended to be controversial; many of the authors, refusing to accept the common notion that "the sky was falling," wrote about environmental issues in a way that gave offense to those who believed that the essays showed insufficient appreciation of the environmental hazards of the day. The Cassandra-like debates concerning the planet Earth, an increasingly crowded and polluted habitat, provoked pessimism and fear in many quarters. Yet as Robert White wrote, the *Dædalus* essays sent a quite different message; they were intended to "strike an optimistic note on a topic that generally provokes pessimism." The issue spoke of energy, land, and material use in novel ways, and White, like other of his colleagues, was prepared to believe that nature was not being violated in the ways some would have the public believe. Change might not be imminent in all spheres, but the title of the issue, coined by Jesse Ausubel, the individual who more than any other was responsible for the study, reflected the belief that science and technology were in fact working to resolve many of the environmental problems they had had a hand in creating, and that the future was not as bleak as some imagined. For Chauncey Starr, as for others, "the real threats to a habitable and sustainable world in the next two centuries arise from the continuing social turmoil associated with the relatively inflexible cultural and ethnic differences among people," and not from technological invention.

With "Bricks, Books, and Bytes," *Dædalus* turned to consider the world's libraries, institutions undergoing dramatic changes and not only because of the introduction of new technologies. The issue, conceived originally when Father Timothy Healy was President of the New York Public Library, and intended to commemorate the centenary of that institution's birth, owed much to the help given by the Library's next President, Paul LeClerc. The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, providing financial support for the issue, made possible an inquiry that dealt not only with how American libraries were being transformed, but also with what was happening to libraries in the United Kingdom, France, Russia, Germany, Brazil, India, and South Africa. The issue was important for many reasons, not least

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because it provided a model for other institutional studies, including museums, that the Journal was now in a position to contemplate. Institutional studies, as most historians would agree, were not much in fashion in the last decade of the century. The warm reception given to "Bricks, Books, and Bytes" suggested that the condition might be changed and that *Dædalus* ought to do what it could to help effect such a change.

Persisting with its aim to describe and analyze changes in American universities, *Dædalus* published in the winter of 1997 "American Academic Culture in Transformation: Fifty Years, Four Disciplines." The issue provided a unique perspective on how the study of philosophy, economics, political science, and literature had changed in American universities during the preceding half century. Again, this was a study that reflected more than changes in research interests and research methods. In relating these to the political, social, economic, and intellectual currents of the period, the authors, brought together by the two Guest Editors, Thomas Bender and Carl Schorske, reflected on how generational change had influenced scholarship. If the issue, by its title and table of contents, appeared to be only a study of four academic disciplines, its larger purpose was to describe what had happened to American universities in the supposedly "golden age" that followed on World War II and also in the more recent past when many believed, rightly or wrongly, that the gold had turned to brass. The issue, conspicuous as much for its lack of nostalgia as for its frank acknowledgment of the many problems that existed in both the humanities and the social sciences, or at least in the four disciplines under review, owed a great deal to the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, concerned always with learning and scholarship. Not every foundation would have thought such issues to be crucial, as important as any that touched the social and economic fabric of the nation.

"Human Diversity," the Spring 1997 issue, like "A New Europe for the Old?" the Summer 1997 issue, drew on the same Andrew W. Mellon support, as well as on the Institute for Futures Studies in Sweden. As much as any other of the issues *Dædalus* published in the 1990s, it sought to deal with societies as different as those of India and the United States, of the new

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former communist states of Europe and of the Muslim Middle East. More than that, it sought to engage a new generation of scholars, individuals who in many instances could be expected to go on writing well into the next century. If the Journal relied on journalists in the United Kingdom for its essays on Serbia and Croatia and on a British scholar for an essay about Romania, if *Dædalus* was unable to persuade individuals from countries recently liberated from communism to write critically about them, and if the essays on Russia and Ukraine were written by professors resident in American universities, this was itself a condition worth reflecting on. The United States, after World War II, made Herculean efforts to bring younger scholars from Western Europe to study in its major universities; no comparable effort was made after 1989 to bring men and women from Eastern Europe, previously imprisoned by Marxist dogma and communist political control, to pursue research in either the social sciences or the humanities. While some might contest that proposition, the experience of preparing these two issues suggested to the Editor, at least, that Americans, for reasons rarely articulated, were not making an intellectual effort in Eastern Europe at all comparable to what they had made half a century earlier in Western Europe.

"A New Europe for the Old?" the Summer 1997 issue, took its title from the lead essay, written by Martin Malia. The individual who had confounded so many with his Z essay, leading journalists and others to search only for his identity, wrote in a way that might not excite investigative journalists but would, however, provoke scholars. Malia expected the Euro, soon to be introduced, to bring new strength to Europe, but his more serious inquiry was whether it would also inspire a new ideal of civilization. Malia, knowing Western Europe intimately though pursuing his career as a historian of Russia, knew that Europe had "always taken herself to represent an ideal of civilization," and he asked whether the New Europe would in fact be able to achieve "the world's first multinational version of democracy towards which she is now moving. . . ." To see Europe in this way was to ask a question raised also by Arne Ruth, Editor-in-Chief of *Dagens Nyheter,* who wrote of the significance of the new revelations about how Sweden and

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Switzerland, the two principal European neutrals, had comported themselves during World War II in connection with the gold looted from those who met their deaths in the gas chambers of Nazi Germany. Ruth believed that the "Holocaust experience—truly unique, yet universal in its significance—has to be integrated into the various national projects that comprise Europe." The "sleep of the self-righteous had to be overcome," and Lord Acton's nineteenth-century injunction that "Our Waterloo must be one that satisfies French and English, Germans and Dutch alike" expressed Ruth's view of what Europe had to learn.

With "The American Academic Profession," *Dædalus* approached a subject it had treated many times in the past. Yet as those familiar with these earlier issues quickly recognized, this was not a reprise of arguments previously made. While it would be too much to say that the American academic profession was changing more dramatically than it had in the decades immediately after World War II, Arthur Levine's insistence that new conditions made further dramatic change likely commended itself to many who wrote for the issue. Levine recognized five forces that he believed would propel further change; he listed them as: "the changing attitudes and demands of higher education's patrons; the changing characteristics of college students; the changing conditions of employment in higher education; the rise of new technologies; and the growth of private-sector competitors." This issue was supported by grants from the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation and the Spencer Foundation.

To compare this issue with the two very large issues published in the fall of 1974 and the winter of 1975—issues growing out of the American Academy's Assembly on University Goals and Governance—is to become aware of how intense the criticisms of American colleges and universities had become, how greatly altered were the prospects for younger scholars who wished to pursue careers as professors. Because the Journal had depended so heavily on America's universities from the time of its modest beginnings, even as it increasingly sought contributions from abroad, the condition of those universities could never fail to be preoccupying. While it was possible to exult in all that new technologies would bring to learning—how

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they might alter systems of instruction based on older traditions of lecturing—these innovations could never substitute for an able new generation of teachers and scholars. If it was more than reasonable for authors in the issue to be concerned with the so-called science wars and culture wars, neither was as serious a condition as the one described by R. M. Douglas, a newly minted Ph.D. in history, who described the conditions that had created a superabundance of "surplus" faculty, of men and women, superbly educated, who had few prospects of tenure or even of a junior professorial position commensurate with their talent and training. The opportunities in the academic profession scarcely resembled what they had been for much of the time that *Dædalus* was published.

To celebrate its fortieth anniversary, *Dædalus* honored the scholar Gerald Holton, who, with a handful of other Fellows, had seen the possibilities of the Journal very early and had successfully launched it as a quarterly in 1958. "Science in Culture" was a fitting tribute to the man who wished "to give the intellectual community a strong voice of its own." In his mind, the natural sciences, the humanities, and the social sciences were not distinct entities, best kept apart and isolated. At the end of the century, as at other very critical moments, educated men and women needed to be reminded of the tradition represented by men as different as Alfred North Whitehead and Percy Bridgman, who recognized the importance of specialized knowledge but knew also that it had to be transcended. In the years since 1958, large efforts had been made to achieve those purposes in *Dædalus,* engaging younger and older scholars and a good number who took pride in being denominated intellectuals.

That "Science in Culture" carried essays by two of Gerald Holton's most accomplished students, Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison; that it included essays by two of the most distinguished art historians of the twentieth century, Ernst Gombrich and James Ackerman; that two Nobel Laureates, Dudley Herschbach and Steven Weinberg, wrote for the issue; that two women who had done so much for the Journal over the years both in advising the Editor and in writing widely quoted essays, Patricia Graham and Wendy Doniger, contributed essays to the

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issue—the latter writing with a younger scholar, Gregory Spinner; that Dudley Herschbach wrote jointly with Bretislav Friedrich; and that E. O. Wilson also consented to write for the issue suggested something of the progeny that had evolved since the winter of 1958 when "Science and the Modern World View" was first published under Gerald Holton's editorship. Those remarkable Fellows of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences who had imagined what the Journal might become had chosen correctly in calling it *Dædalus;* they knew the power of invention—in this instance, institutional invention.

As *Dædalus* moved beyond its fortieth-anniversary celebration, publishing issues on "The Brain," "Early Modernities," "Education Yesterday, Education Tomorrow," and "Distinctively American: The Residential Liberal Arts Colleges," it maintained its tradition of dealing with themes that were disparate, that would command attention both in the United States and abroad. In "The Brain," I paid tribute to Sir Isaiah Berlin, a longtime member of the *Dædalus* Board of Editors, a unique intellectual, who had given so much to the Journal and its Editor in his endlessly fascinating conversation, and whose death was mourned on both sides of the Atlantic. The idea for the issue originated with Leon Cooper of Brown University, who recommended the Charles A. Dana Foundation as a possible funder. The Dana Foundation's generous grant allowed us to initiate the project with a Planning Committee meeting held at the House of the American Academy, but it was the intervention of Vartan Gregorian, President of Brown, who allowed us to complete it, making funds available at a time when the costs of producing such an issue were soaring. A grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation helped enormously. So, also, did Jean-Pierre Changeux, a Foreign Honorary Member of the Academy, who made the incomparable facilities of the Collège de France in Paris available to us for the authors' meeting. All who attended that meeting understood why the site of a conference is critical, and how the hospitality of foreign friends can make an occasion memorable.

With "Early Modernities," three scholars, Israeli, German, and Swedish—Shmuel Eisenstadt, Wolfgang Schluchter, and Björn Wittrock—collaborated to bring scholars to consider to-

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gether early modern societies too little known in the West. The essays on India, China, Japan, and Korea, not to speak of those on Spain and on the Enlightenment as the French, German, and English experienced it, provided a rare perspective on the intellectual and institutional precursors to modernity. The issue originated in a conference that took place in Uppsala in the summer of 1996, sponsored by the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in the Social Sciences (SCASSS), and the Department of Sociology at the University of Heidelberg, then taken up by the Max-Weber-Kolleg at the University of Erfurt. SCASSS—greatly helped by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund—the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, and the University of Heidelberg all provided financial support for the issue. As for the meetings, they were held at SCASSS, the Van Leer Jerusalem Institute, the Budapest Collegium, and Wolfson College, Cambridge University. That so many helped make this *Dædalus* issue possible, and that so many meetings proved to be both useful and necessary, says something about the complexity of the questions raised. The relevance of the volume may be suggested by certain remarks I made in my Preface, where I wrote:

> Today, when it is assumed that we understand contemporary nationalism and nation-building, rarely considering the very different traditions from which such state-building sprang, when there is almost too much discussion of the "global village," with its uniformities and purportedly inevitable trajectories, there is a need for seeing modernity as something other than a single condition with a preordained future. The so-called democracies of the world today may be as different in their character and political, intellectual, and moral perspectives as were the societies of Asia and Europe in the second millenium of the Christian era.

To know modern China, India, Japan, Korea, Spain, England, and Germany without knowing their early modern antecedents is to be unaware of certain of their traditions, of what continues to make them different.

"Education Yesterday, Education Tomorrow" may be read as a continuation of the Fall 1995 *Dædalus* issue, "American Education: Still Separate, Still Unequal," which inspired Kenneth Wilson, a Fellow of the Academy and a Nobel Laureate in

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Physics, to write the Editor asking for a further study of American schooling. Wilson, together with his colleague, Constance Barsky, asked for an inquiry that would consider how effective certain of the reform proposals for elementary and secondary schools have been in recent decades. Their interest was to discover why fundamental educational change has in fact been so difficult to achieve in the United States. Both expressed the wish that the Journal would also survey other "systems," including, if at all possible, medicine and health care, agriculture, communications, and electrical power, to determine whether reform in any of these has been easier to achieve, and whether anything could be learned from these varied experiences that might prove relevant to education. With support from the Ohio State University, initial planning meetings were held in Columbus, Ohio, and at the House of the Academy in Cambridge. This novel experiment, supported also by grants from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation, brought educators together to consider questions few had addressed in the way Wilson and Barsky hoped they would do. In the words of Thomas Hughes, the historian of technology, the challenge was nothing less than to learn how to design, develop, and reform whole systems, including, very obviously, education. Agriculture, thought to be America's success story, ought to have provided models, but it was not at all obvious how its successes could be translated into educational reforms. Still, in this area, as in the others, there was much to be learned from how innovation had come about and what agencies had been instrumental in bringing about fundamental institutional change.

"Distinctively American: The Residential Liberal Arts Colleges" owed its existence to the Annapolis Group, an association of the presidents of 110 small liberal arts colleges, whose initial discussions in New York did much to define the agenda for a study of American higher education that concentrated on institutions unique to the United States. Several of these colleges, boasting birth dates that suggested eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century origins, were among the most celebrated institutions of learning in the country. Others were less well known. All, in one way or other, compelled to adjust to the new

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intellectual, cultural, social, and economic forces increasingly buffeting all American higher educational institutions, were seeking to explore new educational opportunities and possibilities. As teaching institutions, a good number were unrivalled. Yet they were not the colleges famed in literature and film in the pre–World War II era. To explore how they were changing, but also how they were faring, were important objectives, but secondary to an even more important one. If Steven Koblik, the President of Reed College, was scarcely exaggerating when he said that they "remain the best models of undergraduate education in the country," continuing to "produce disproportionate shares of the country's leaders—doctors, lawyers, teachers and professors, politicians and civil servants, and businessmen," they clearly merited close scrutiny. This issue provided precisely that kind of analysis; it could never be mistaken for being an uncritical "puff" for a single segment of the American higher educational universe.

* * *

In just over forty years as a quarterly, with its many conferences and meetings held in various parts of the world, *Dædalus* has relied very largely on the philanthropy of foundations and institutions prepared to recognize why an interdisciplinary publication merits support. It is not an accident that so much notice has been given in this essay to those who supported the individual *Dædalus* issues. Without their subventions, there would have been no Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, certainly not one prepared to explore such diverse subjects, searching for candor and criticism of a kind increasingly uncommon in our century. This is not always admitted; many choose to live with the illusion that ours is an age given to frank and open discussion. The "investigative reporting" of our newspapers and television, increasingly treating the ephemeral, scarcely does justice to the complexities of the modern world. Hence our constant surprises, over the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union, the peaceful ending of *apartheid* in South Africa, the insubstantialities of the "economic miracle" in much of once-prosperous Asia. Those are yesterday's

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lines, scarcely anticipated by those who imagined that certain things would not happen for decades, even centuries.

The new century and the new millenium beckon, and it is impossible to know what surprises they will bring. If scholarship and learning can faithfully address real and urgent issues and can indeed occasionally anticipate them, if they are prepared to hear many voices discuss important matters with candor, the hazards of remaining confined in any one corner of a specific intellectual, political, or ideological maze will be significantly reduced. This has been a principal *Dædalus* purpose in its first four decades. It has sought, with limited financial but substantial intellectual resources, to combat two principal enemies of our time: provincialism and parochialism. That is a worthy objective, and ought not to be lost sight of. With it, however, must come a renewed regard for scholarship, insufficiently appreciated in our vulgar time of "celebrity worship."

To say this is to emphasize what too few are prepared to acknowledge. If *Dædalus* was founded "to give the intellectual community a voice of its own," it is perfectly legitimate to ask where that "intellectual community" is today, on the eve of the millenium. Is it to be discovered principally in a few places in the world, most particularly in universities and para-academic institutions, or must it be sought in a broader sphere of institutions in a wide variety of societies, many still relatively unknown and too little attended? If *Dædalus* has always sought contributions from younger men and women, must that search not be even more deliberate in the future, as was implied in the Spring 1999 issue, "The Next Generation: Work in Progress"? Failing such a purpose, will intellectual life not become increasingly barren, where the monograph, the executive summary, and the abstract will be thought sufficient? Is this the future that beckons in the new publication age of the twenty-first century, or is some other possible, and, indeed, desirable?

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